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SHORT STORIES FROM THE SPANISH, Englished by Charles B. McMichael. New York: Boni & Liveright, \$1.25.

Recently many Spanish novels have been translated into English but the Spanish conte is almost unknown. This slender volume contains three by Ruben Dario, three by Octavio Picon and one by Leopoldo Alas. The author, a judge of the Courts of Common Peas in Philadelphia, has made a lifelong study of the language of the Iberian peninsula and this work is a labor of love. Drawings by H. Devitt Welsh.

INSTIGATIONS by Ezra Pound. New York: Boni & Liveright, \$3.50.

In this bulky volume of near four hundred pages, Ezra Pound in his best manner enlightens the English speaking world on the subject of French poets and French poetry. He endeavors to be judicial and just. Henry James merits a chapter. French poets considered are Laforgue, Corbiere, Rimbaud, de Gourmont, de Regnier, Verhaeren, Viele-Griffin, Merril, Tailhade, Jammes, Moreas, Spire, Vildrac, Romain and almost innumerable others. The French poems are given in the original. An appendix to Pound's work is an essay by the late Ernest Fenollosa on "The Chinese Written Character as a Medium for Poetry."

AN INTRODUCTOIN TO SOCIAL ETHICS by John M. Mecklin. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Howe.

A discussion of social ethics for the general reader by the professor of philosophy in the University of Pittsburgh. After an analysis of the nature and functions of public sentiment and of the factors which control it, follows a psychological analysis of the social conscience in its relation to social progress. Upon this basis the author gives critically constructive consideration to the family, the church and private property as agencies in moulding the moral sentiments of men. Indexed.

THE GATE OF FULFILLMENT by Knowles Ridsdale. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, \$1.50.

A charming romance, told in correspondence, between a semi-invalid and his secretary-companion.

THE LOOM OF YOUTH by Alec Waugh. New York: George H. Doran.

A novel of public school life written by a lad of seventeen just completing his public school education. It is an indictment of the present system. Referring particularly to England it is nevertheless related to America. In the preface Thomas Secombe praises the book unreservedly.

COMMON SENSE AND LABOR by Samuel Crowther. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., \$2.

The author professes to know both Capital and Labor from the inside and to treat their relations impartially. He makes some startling statements, e. g., that during the war there was never any shortage of labor in the United States, but that the delusion arose because of erroneous statistical figures and a semblance of panic among employers.

THE EASTERN QUESTION AND ITS SOLUTION by Morris Jastrow, Jr. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., \$1.50.

Ever since the beginning of the war and even before that time Professor Jastrow has pointed out that the seat of the trouble is the Far East—the Bagdad Railway. In the proposed settlements he sees but the germs of future wars, unless the nations accepting mandates have purged their souls of all imperialistic ambitions—and who can claim that? Otherwise a mandate is merely a thin diplomatic disguise for occupation; occupation develops into a protectorate and a protectorate into proprietorship. Mr. Jastrow pleads for a genuine trusteeship of the East by the West, based on

the spirit of international co-operation. Like all Mr. Jastrow's work, his arguments are clear and positive.

LEADER OF MEN by Robert Gordon Anderson. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, \$1.

A monograph in eulogy of Theodore Roosevelt. Portrait frontispiece by Paul Thompson.

A PRISONER OF PENTONVILLE by "Red Band." New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, \$1.50.

The despair, humiliation and consolations of a man in prison, keenly conscious of his degradation, are simply expressed in verse. In a foreword Joseph Fort Newton, ex-pastor of the City Temple, of London, pronounces it more sincere than "The Ballad of Reading Gaol," though not attaining to the same perfection of art.

THE NEW GERMANY by George Young. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Howe.

A British diplomatist who has spent several months in Germany since the armistice here discusses the spiritual forces which he sees at work in that country from February to August, 1919. The author is a member of the British nobility, special correspondent of the London Daily News and author of "Portugal Old and New."

THE HYSTERIA OF LADY MACBETH by Isador H. Coriat. New York: Moffat, Yard & Co.

Dr. Coriat—author of "Abnormal Psychology"—terms this a study in applied abnormal psychology to lay bare the fundamental mental mechanisms in one of the most prominent and artistic of literary creations. Considered in the light of modern psycho-pathology Lady Macbeth's behavior is to be interpreted neither as criminal not as obsessed by ambition, but merely as the natural expression of hysteria. A most interesting essay.

MARQUERAY'S DUEL by Anthony Pryde. New York: R. M. McBride & Co., \$2.

A forceful dramatic novel centering about a man's threefold struggle for love, friendship and self-mastery. The scene is political and fashionable London after the war. Published anonymously in England it gained the praise of the literary critics.

THE GOLDEN SCORPION by Sax Rohmer. New York: R. M. McBride & Co.

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THE SUPERSTITION OF DIVORCE by Gilbert K. Chesterton. New York: John Lane Co., \$1.50.

Mr. Chesterton dubs the modern cult of divorce "superstition" in that it attempts to cure the ills of marriage by destroying marriage and by setting up a bogus idol of legal respectability in its place. Scintillant wit playing about sound sense.

SONGS OF SEEKING AND FINDING by Tertius Van Dyke. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, \$1.50.

Verse better than the average by the son of Henry Van Dyke.

POEMS by T. S. Eliot. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

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THE VOICE OF THE PACK by Edison Marshall. Boston: Little Brown & Co., \$1.75.

A stirring romance which is at the same time a good nature story. Scene laid in the wilds of Oregon. Frontispiece.

SOCIAL THEORY by G. D. H. Cole. New York: F. A. Stokes Co., \$1.50.

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WILLIAM M. REEDY, Editor and Proprietor

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Debs

By William Marion Reedy

EUGENE VICTOR DEBS is nominated for President for the fifth time by the Socialists, and Seymour Stedman for Vice President. The party platform is amazingly tame. A score of years ago it would have shocked us all as revolutionary. Now it is commonplace. And it is more American in tone, somehow, than ever before. Even the platform plank for occupational as well as geographical representation is not as suggestive of Russia as one might suppose, for did not that rare, ingenious, radical, W. S. U'Ren, propose that identical reform in Oregon ten years ago? The Socialists speak on the treaty and the war in language we have heard from Borah, Knox, Johnson, Reed and other Senators. They have the same voice as many Democrats and Republicans upon such subjects as profiteering, freedom of speech and press and many other things. On public ownership they are little more positively extreme than the Forty-eighters and they practically lift the land plank from the pronouncements of the Forty-eighters. They demand that the congress shall elect the cabinet. They want the President and Vice President elected directly by the people, and subject to recall. The platform is moderate. For that we have to thank Victor Berger, of Milwaukee, who said that the party was striving for control in this country and had no concern with politics in Russia, where conditions are different. And on Berger's platform the party placed Debs whom Berger converted to Socialism when Debs was in jail for violating an injunction in the Pullman strike. Berger himself is now in jail, constructively, for practically the same conduct for which Debs is in prison. Debs is a very lovable man, inspiring the most fervent devotion. He is a kind of saint of Socialism. He is in jail for obstructing the draft and he is triumphantly unrepentant. He is martyr as well as saint to multitudes of people. His following is more devoted than Bryan's or Hoover's. Can he win? Hardly. All the people who love him will not vote for him; to many of them he makes a splendid Debs but would make a poor President. But doubtless he will get thousands of votes from citizens who are not Socialists, but who know no other way of effectively registering their protest against the two major parties. Socialism is not as terribly forbidding as it was ten or even five years ago, for Wilson, yes and even Roosevelt, approximated it in many utterances and proposals. We have learned even to be less aghast at its manifestation in Russia as facts have overcome propaganda since 1917. Of course the vote for the Socialist ticket will depend much on what the Republicans do at Chicago and the Democrats do at San Francisco. It may depend too on how prices run in November and possibly upon some action with regard to imprisoned political offenders. Something done or undone by the Supreme Council of the Allies may affect it. But as matters stand now it seems that the discontent will fructify into many thousands of Socialist votes. The Socialist "Terror" of a year or six months ago is vanished. The Mitchell Palmer-Albert Sidney Burleson "Terror" is still in operation. As to all other things the government is "in the

vocative," and the Socialist attitude towards the treaty, industrial democracy, civil liberties and kindred issues cuts across the lines of both the greater parties in a most bewildering fashion. The Debs "legend" has grown in picturesque, romantic power and charm. The idealism of the war has left no little of Socialistic deposit in the popular mind. The Americanism of the Socialism of 1920 is disinfected of much that was ominous and dangerous according to the thinking of people in the past. We are not as afraid of everything called radicalism as we were. The Debs platform contains much that but echoes the voices of the Fathers of the Republic. Much of its "Bolshevism" sounds much like Jefferson or Lincoln or Roosevelt or Bryan or Wilson or Johnson. It does not frighten the country at all. At most the average American will say, it is interesting, sentimental, impractical. At best it will command the suffrages of hundreds of thousands of people who believe that the Great War has betrayed us into the very things for the destruction of we sent forth our sons to the number of three million, fifty thousand of whom shall never more return. Debs and his party cannot win, but one thing they can do, and that is make the country think it is time to translate our splendid phrases into action for true peace, true liberty and true brotherhood.

Reflections

By William Marion Reedy

We're Out of the Great Game

AT last there seems to have developed something definite about the amount of indemnity Germany will have to pay. Lloyd-George and Millerand have agreed, and probably Italy's representative too, that the bill of damages shall be presented at Spa next month in a lump sum variously stated at from \$22,000,000,000 to \$30,000,000,000. It is no trifle, but it is some relief to Germany, and to the Allies as well, to know definitely what the amount will be. It is three times what the expert Mr. Keynes says it should be. The earlier payments are to be made out of loans raised by Germany and in a way guaranteed by the Allies, exclusive of the United States, thus far. After that the payments are to be made in installments of \$750,000,000. As the payments are made to the Allies those Allies shall use the money in settlement of their debts with one another. Presumably, France, which has first claim, after Belgium's, will use some of it to repay her borrowings from the United States. Great Britain has the greatest claim after France. We have none, seemingly. This country was not in the consultations at Hythe. Probably it will not be represented at the meeting with the Germans at Spa. We have nothing to say, being out of the League. There is some talk that Germany will send no representatives to Spa, until French troops are withdrawn back of the peace boundaries established at Versailles, but it is reported that the French troops are withdrawn or withdrawing. France is said to have accepted less than her demands because she could not insist upon them without imperiling the prospect of Great Britain's agreement to enforce collection of a larger amount than the one agreed to. Another point

of the Hythe agreement is that the Germans are to be held down rigorously to the maintenance of an army of not more than 100,000 men and must surrender absolutely all of her heavy artillery. There does not appear to have been any action taken by the French and British premiers with regard to Russia. The relative unimportance of Italy in relation to the Hythe conference cannot but strike the ordinary reader of the news. Great Britain and France are the masters of Europe, controlling coal and all the rivers and seas. Nothing was done at Hythe to deal in any fashion with the terrible condition of the people in Austria, Checko-Slovakia, Poland, the Balkan states, where Mr. Davison of the Red Cross says that at this time the need of the people calls for at least \$500,000,000 relief from our congress. A large part of Europe is horribly dying of typhus, influenza and starvation. The League of Nations is not restoring Europe. It is collecting its claims and gathering in territory. This country's absence from the League councils is a deterrent upon any proposals of altruism. Our presence might be a modifying and mollifying influence upon the imperialism that is having play in the League as it exists. For instance, how long has it been since any Allied statesman has said a word in favor of the disarmament of any nation but Germany? We have not heard a word of it since Mr. Wilson left Paris. And what can a League of Nations for peace amount to without disarmament? The world is being run without us. It is being run under the dominance of force. That, we promised, should not be. For that we are out of it as a civilizing influence, Mr. Wilson is as much to blame as the United States Senate. We have lain down upon our task and broken our promise to the world.

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What's On in Mexico?

CARRANZA has fled from Mexico. Who is in charge, or why, is not clear. Nothing is clear as to Mexico. All is roiled and cloudy, because of propaganda. Carranza was bull-headed, of course, but he was for Mexico and for Mexicans. He tried to give back to Mexicans control of their natural resources under a new constitution. He tried to make his rule permanent, after approved ancient methods in that land. Then the "interests," mostly foreign, got busy with the ambitious generals and governors of states, and the revolution was on. The foreign interests, ours, the English, maybe the Japanese, probably the German, like to fish in troubled waters. Trouble in Mexico makes an argument for intervention, ours or others'. There's loot in the conditions created, for local and international grafters. But there's nothing for the poor Mexican in it. Carranza, as I see it, tried to do something for the poor Mexican, but the exploiters were too strong for him. So he is in flight—with about \$15,000,000 out of the treasury. Meanwhile the interventionists are busy with tongue and pen for a pacificatory interposition. For the poor Mexicans? Not on your life. For the mining, timber, coffee, oil and other interests. All the poor Mexicans and many poor Americans too, probably, will get is—killed. For which reason I say, let the Mexicans alone, let them settle their own affairs. Those affairs may be muddled now, but they are their own. Bad as they are the Mexicans still have of their country what the concessionaires have not grabbed. Intervention would take their country from them, such as it is. Meanwhile, I don't know much about Carranza, but he seemed to desire Mexico for the Mexicans, and that's a point to remember in his favor.

He was less of an adventurer than any leader who has risen against him. He may have been ungrateful to President Wilson, who helped him to Huerta's place. "Republics is ungrateful," said *Hennessey*. "Yis," replied *Dooley*, "that's how and why they remain republics." It looks as if, maybe, Mexico could have better spared a better man than Carranza.

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The Domination of the Dubs

THE papers are full of the troubles of the railroads—which are the troubles of all of us. But that's a thing we must calmly look in the face. The railroads are in hard lines financially, we may admit, but are the lines as hard as the railroads say? Have not many of them been handsomely repaired and improved while under government control? Mr. Charles J. Finger, somewhat of an expert on the subject, has answered "Yes" in reply to a plea by Mr. Festus J. Wade of the Mercantile Trust Company, for popular leniency of opinion and for increased freight rates. There is a suspicion abroad that the railroads are putting on a "poor mouth" in order to get governmental help to the extent of \$500,000,000, for a starter, while the getting is good. They want this for equipment. Then they want more equipment. And then they want higher rates. I think higher rates are justified by the higher prices of material and cost of operation. The trouble is that politicians in office are afraid to grant such increases, which may hurt their party. More official courage would result in action which would solve that question.

Then there is the freight jam at the big terminals. That paralyzes business and boosts prices. Some of the congestion may be due to insufficiency of equipment. But most of it is due to insufficiency of labor. The lack of labor is due to dissatisfaction of the men with their pay. That dissatisfaction brought on a strike. The strike is "lost." But the men have not gone back to their places. They have other jobs. Meanwhile the Labor Board does not act on the strikers' demands, but withholds decision. The longer the decision is held up the worse the congestion becomes. And discontent spreads while production languishes and transportation is tied up. In the freight jam, the main cause is the labor shortage. Railway executives admit generally that the workers deserve more pay. Then, in the name of humanity, give it to them! If the people at large have to pay, they will. Raise the pay, raise the rates. Don't string up the switchmen and yardmen because they have organized unions clandestine to the Federation of Labor. The railroads fighting for unionism, and unionism fighting for the railroads—well, the combination is suspicious, to say the least. It looks like a combination to make things appear worse than they are, in order that the railroads may get more money from the government now and more from the public later. And it looks like a labor aristocracy, careless of the lower orders of workers, careless too of how much the railroads get, so long as the regular unions get their share.

The situation is undoubtedly bad. But dub government makes it worse, with dodging and ducking and passing the buck. The freight congestion can be relieved by granting the yardmen and switchmen a raise of pay near to what they ask. That will move the trains and check high prices. The men have waited overlong. They have indulged in no violence. They are held up by the gills because they are not regular unionists. But they are human beings. Treat them fairly and the wheels will turn.

The outstanding fact is that the administration is inefficient in everything but language-

ousness. It dubs along with the railroad problem as it does with everything—even to the matter of bringing home the bodies of our soldiers that are buried in France. If the railroads are to remain in private control, they must be helped to re-finance themselves. The government must validate their credit. They must have rates that will yield return on the money borrowed. The government should advance the money and raise the rates. It should likewise raise the workers' pay. For all this the people must pay. There's nobody else who can pay. If the administration will not do this, then let the government quit dubbing and take over the roads. Now we have all the worst features of both forms of ownership. Nothing could be worse than present governmental inaction. Anything would be better. The Labor and the Interstate Commerce Commission Board should act. Even wrong action would be better than wabbling. The railroads must function.

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Crimping Credit

WHAT has this administration done to reduce the cost of living? The answer is—Nothing. All the blather from Washington has made things worse. And now a few bold, percipient, and yes, patriotic, department store managers in various cities have begun to cut prices on their own initiative, with excellent results. The government, operating through the Federal Reserve Bank, has begun to crimp credit. The bankers generally follow suit. What do bankers know more or better about these things than the rest of us? Read the MIRROR's "Marts and Money" department this week for words of sooth on this subject. The theory is that credit shall be granted only for "essentials." But what are essentials? A plumber friend of mine got some contracts on a dozen new dwelling houses. His bank would lend him nothing on the contracts. It had always done so in the past. And yet there is a shortage of dwellings that generates robbery in rents. If housing it not essential, what is? Maybe manufacturing smoked glass through which to view eclipses. Crimping credit will hit the smaller business man. The big fellows will be well taken care of. Credit restriction will bankrupt many a man. Just how bankrupting people is going to help in the present conditions, I cannot see. Money will be tightened and of course prices will tend to fall, but what good are low prices to people so "busted" they cannot pay them? Oh, the ways of the masters of government and industry and finance! They will do anything or everything for the masses, except get off their backs. And all the time the remedy is so simple. Take the penalties off of production and place it on privilege. Untax people who create wealth. Tax people who grab the wealth created by the work of others. That would keep up wages without taking them out of product. It would keep prices fair and just. It would leave credit free, and land and labor, and men. Government's failure to see and act upon this makes government upon the whole man's worse self-invented evil.

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The Republican Platform

WHAT will the Republican national convention declare about the treaty? The question seems to worry a great many people. But the answer is the simplest thing in politics. The party will declare against the treaty as presented to the Senate by President Wilson. There the declaration will stop. On that platform the irreconcilables can join with the reservationists. Johnson can run on it, or Lowden, or Wood, or Hoover, or Lenroot. After election—well, something must be left to Providence.

King and King-Maker

McAdoo and Cox will be the aspirants to fight out the nomination in the Democratic convention. McAdoo has the advantage, notably in the handicap upon Cox of the opposition of Mr. William Jennings Bryan, because of Cox's supposed alliance with the wet elements of the party. It is not absolutely impossible that Mr. Bryan himself should be the nominee. He will be the biggest man in the convention, as he has been at every convention since 1896. He will probably prevent approval of the Wilson treaty without reservations. He will prevent the adoption of a moist plank on the liquor question. To that extent he may be the platform. And just now I hear many Democrats saying that Bryan, even though he may not be electable, can come nearer being elected than anybody else. Mr. Bryan is for the treaty with reservations and it seems from the returns of the primaries and state conventions most of the big state delegations will be of like mind. He calls, in the *May Commoner*, on all aspirants in his party to declare their attitude on all pending issues and the inference is that if their declarations do not please him, he will oppose the declarants. Even as Wilson, he insists that the party's mind shall "go along with" his. The convention proceedings may narrow down to a struggle to the death between the king and the king-maker.



The Knox Resolution

THE Knox resolution declaring peace with Germany and Austria was a waste of political energy. It could not make peace. Only the President can do that. It proposed the impossible as to the treaty, but worse than that, it did not propose to put an end to the extension of presidential powers and the war time legislation, mostly repressive, under which the people of this country are so restless. The resolution has not helped anything, anywhere, that I can discover. It has not strengthened the case against a League of Nations. On the contrary, it has weakened it. It has shown that there can be no more "going it alone" in the world. There can be no peace until all nations are for peace. The resolution would not have disarmed a single soldier in the world. It would not have put a solitary check upon the old diplomacy. It would not have rectified a single mistake of omission or commission in the peace treaty. And it could not get by President Wilson. All it said, when adopted, was that the Senate was for a peace with Germany and Austria that could not possibly be consummated. It was probably the most foolish thing ever done by the United States Senate.



Conscription

CONSCRIPTION is not dead. There is a bill pending in congress which gives the President the power to conscribe all male citizens between the ages of 18 and 45 whenever he declares that an emergency exists justifying such a call to the colors. The bill doesn't describe what will or may constitute such an emergency. It may be an emergency in foreign affairs, if a league of nations exists, or it may be an emergency of a domestic, industrial character. The President might call the country's man power to arms as a means of breaking a strike, as Briand did in France some years ago. This bill is one against which every opponent of militarism should bring to bear all his influence. Every anti-militarist should protest to his congressman and senators.

Fire-Flies

I'm going to quit worrying about the fate of the world. I walked up the country road Monday night. That morning we had wondered if there was to be any spring this year, and now the fire-flies were weaving their grotesques and arabesques against the deepening dusk. There they were, on time, on the job, spite of cold and frost. And the frogs that

had started up their chorus weeks before and then ceased, were chanting in tune probably with the flies' light strokes in the air. So flies and frogs "and such small deer" have come on time for all time thus far, working out some scheme regardless of cataclysm. So I guess we'll go on, too, to the end, implicit in the beginning. Why worry? All we can do is our best.

"What God Hath Joined Together"

SOME FACTS FROM A DIVORCE COURT RECORD

By Oliver S. Morris

"WHAT God hath joined together"—like the word "obey,"—is not written into the marriage ritual of present-day Americans with the idea that it will be taken literally in all cases.

This being so, what are we going to do about it? Probably some of us will continue to do what we have been doing: denouncing divorce as "a national crime against childhood and a confession of failure and weakness by the American people" (I quote a recent clerical opinion), or lauding it as a necessary protection for women and necessary part of human liberty, and doing this easy denouncing and careless lauding without knowing what we are talking about.

Facts, like hickory nuts, are hard-shelled propositions. It takes some effort to break the shell and pick out the meat. When it comes to discussing divorce our trouble is we have been bolting our hickory nuts whole. Hence much of the dyspeptic criticism of our divorce laws and, on the other extreme, furtive suggestions concerning free love, or its near-equivalent.

For instance, "FORTY THOUSAND CHILDREN MADE HOMELESS BY DIVORCE COURTS," sounds blood-curdling in a newspaper headline, and, unsupported by any illuminating detail, which is usually the case, is a useless piece of information. The children mentioned, for all we are given to understand, might be offspring of fathers who have dragged their families into the depths of shame and degradation and of mothers who had sought the divorce courts to be free of intolerable conditions, in order to lead the children to a life of respect in a new environment which would make good citizens of them. Mere bald figures of the kind cited, though they often form the text of much moralizing and the basis for the statements of many of our distinguished dealers in platitudes, are dangerous. We have been given little in the way of answers to such questions as:

What caused the parents of these 40,000 children, of newspaper headline notoriety, to bare the humiliating details of an unsavory home life in a public court?

How long had they been married and what was the status of the family affected?

How many of them were inflamed with a polygamous desire to divorce only to remarry, or honestly sought the law as the last resort to end an existence becoming impossible?

How many of them did remarry, as a matter of fact?

These and a horde of other questions go mostly unanswered, or are only superficially touched upon, in the mediums of publicity.

Therefore, that I might not starve during the long, barren winter of this national discussion, I recently raked out and digested some facts from a divorce court of a healthy American community. I found almost ex-

actly one divorce to four marriages. In this community of approximately 120,000 people are an average of about 450 divorces a year—to be exact, 898 for the two years of which I made a digest of the court record. In setting forth the detail of what was found in these cases, heaven forbid that I should draw any conclusion unwarranted by the facts.

My analysis of divorce data bears out strongly one popularly accepted opinion: Children are the means of keeping married people together. Only one in three divorce cases involves children, showing that the chance for divorce is three times greater among childless couples than among others. Also, where there are children, a divorce, if sought at all, comes, on the average, at a much later period of married life than in the cases where children are not concerned. While holders of generally accepted views may gain some consolation in this, the popular mind is liable to be jolted by two other significant facts.

Only one in three divorced persons remarry. In other words, the desire to switch spouses, on the theory that variety is the spice of life, at most can be charged against only 33 1/3 per cent of our divorcees.

In approximately 70 per cent of the cases I examined, a divorce decree does not break up an established home, paradoxical as the statement may seem to the uninitiated. In the cases constituting this 70 per cent the home was broken up for periods of from one to 15 years prior to the filing of the divorce, either through the outright and uncondoned desertion of one or the other of the parties, or through agreements to separate, accompanied by a division of the children and property rights, if any, out of court.

It can fairly be presumed that, in a majority of cases, the home would have remained disestablished under these agreements, or through these outright desertions of one or the other party, had a divorce never been granted. The divorce, therefore, in the cases constituting this 70 per cent of the total number, made remarriages and the establishment of new homes possible, without cutting down the number of homes existing prior to the decree.

The influence of children on the marriage relation is shown in the following table of the chance for divorce among couples with and without children:

CHANCES FOR DIVORCE		
Length of time married.	With children, per cent of cases.	Without children, per cent of cases.
0 to 5 years.....	22	48
5 to 10 years.....	23	28
10 to 15 years.....	26	9
15 to 20 years.....	16	4
20 to 25 years.....	8	2
25 to 30 years.....	3	4
30 or over.....	2	5
Total	100	100

Here is concrete evidence that ought to cheer the heart of a Roosevelt! Where what we are taught is the chief purpose of marriage—the rearing of offspring—is defeated,

the institution, if it is to be doomed, destroys itself in almost half the cases in the first five years. Forty-eight per cent of our divorces, where there are no children, occur in the first five years of wedlock, and all but less than a quarter get into the courts before the sixteenth year. On the other hand, only 22 per cent—less than a quarter—occur in the first five years, if the cementing influence of children has been felt. Of divorces where there are children, it will be noted, more occur between the tenth and fifteenth year of married life than in any of the other five-year periods noted. If the matrimonial ship has weathered the seas 15 years it would appear from this table that there is comparatively little chance of its hitting the rocks after then.

It may be added in explanation of the table that only children under 21 years of age have been considered. Where the children were over that age, the couple seeking the divorce was considered as being childless, and this accounts for the peculiar fact that, in the table, the number of divorces granted to childless couples seems to increase during the five-year period between the twenty-fifth and thirtieth year of wedlock, as well as in the classification "30 years or over." These two classifications, in the no-children column, include the divorces of couples who have had children but where the children have reached their majority.

Concerning the 33.4 per cent, roughly one-third, of divorced persons who remarry, an examination of the record discloses some enlightening data. Divorced women more frequently than divorced men remarry. Of the ones who brave another matrimonial career after the bankruptcy of the first, 60½ per cent are women; 39½ are men. A peculiar circumstance is that these divorced women, next to previously unmarried women, are the most in demand with bachelors, who march nearly twice more of them to the altar than they do widows who have become such through the regular course of nature. Having racked my brain for an explanation, I opine that a widow, not grass, if she is in the market for a new "hubby" has a more difficult time than a divorcee explaining that she "never loved any other man before." Let the actual figures, compiled from over 3,000 marriages, speak for themselves:

HOW DIVORCED PEOPLE REMARRY

Nature of remarriage.	Proportion to whole number of cases—per cent.
Previously unmarried man to divorced woman	45
Divorced man to previously unmarried woman	22
Divorced man to divorced woman	12
Widower to divorced woman	11
Divorced man to widow	10

If many look on divorce as a luxury, an institution for the rich and idle, let them, after examining the statistics, forever hold their peace! Less than 19 per cent of couples obtaining divorces have anything more than household furniture and mere personal belongings of insignificant value. The poorer and middle classes, so-called, are the big patrons of the divorce courts. The opposite impression, generally prevalent, is doubtless caused by the newspapers.

When John Jones or Mary Smith seeks a decree, it's good for a brevity at the bottom of the column of "Local Notes," unless there is some special "feature," like John seeking the decree because his wife always insisted on having twins instead of just one at a time, and then the "story" of the suit gets a "freak" head on the front page. But let R. Horace Van Pelt, "prominent banker-clubman, and well-known man about town," or Mrs. Nadine Fish-Robertson, "prominent in the local Four Hundred," seek to air their domestic troubles in the divorce court and the newspapers carry

a column on the front page, with a "three-column layout" of photographs and follow it up with similar reading matter during every day of the long-drawn out trial.

The assertion that the predominating class which seeks relief in the divorce courts is not the rich class, or composed mostly of actors and actresses, is amply proved. The court whose record I examined required the property interests, or absence of them, of divorce litigants to be set forth in detail in the pleadings, as it is necessary when putting asunder what God hath joined together, to divide up the community property, as well as the children. The statement that 81 per cent of the families whose troubles are aired possessed little or no property is based on an examination of approximately 1,000 cases.

I have included in the "property" class—the 19 per cent—every case where the possession of any real estate at all was shown, and all cases where household goods and personal belongings would be of a value exceeding \$300, so that the figures are extremely conservative. As a matter of fact only about half of the 19 per cent could be called moderately well-to-do and only one or two per cent, rich. In scores of cases where the possession of real estate was shown, which were consequently put among the 19 per cent, the holding consisted of an extremely modest house and lot, worth less than \$1,000, or perhaps only a vacant lot in which the family held an equity of less than \$500.

If the reader is of a Rooseveltian turn of mind and has been pleased to hear actual proof that children keep families out of the divorce courts, he should prepare to grin more at this point. It is true, as previously stated, that only one divorce case in three involves couples with children, and it is also true that where children are concerned it is seldom large families of them. In 52 per cent of the cases involving children the welfare of only one child was at stake; in 28 per cent of the cases two children were affected; in 11 per cent three children; in 5 per cent four children; in 2 per cent five children; in 1 per cent six children. The number of couples obtaining divorces with seven children or more was negligible.

The court awarded the custody of children as follows: To their mothers, 82 per cent of the cases; to their fathers, 10 per cent of the cases; divided between parents in 6 per cent of the cases, and to third parties—institutions and relatives—in 2 per cent of the cases. The record shows an average of almost exactly two children involved to every three divorce cases.

The record showed a serious mistake is made by those who believe that the general run of persons who avail themselves of the divorce courts do so cheerfully and recklessly, as a simple means of getting out from under more or less disagreeable conditions, whereas, were there no divorce law, more of an attempt would be made to right those conditions, thus better preserving the home life of our people. As a matter of fact our court records tell in unmistakable language a different story. Divorce in most cases is a last resort, and people who seek relief there do so—I am speaking of the great majority—not without taking due time to think it over and, we must assume from the facts, not without trying to right domestic conditions by every other means.

In the first place a divorce suit is practically certain to seriously injure if not ruin forever the reputation and standing of those who take this method of eliminating what they have come to consider intolerable conditions. At best, from the litigant's standpoint, desertion

for a period of one year or more, is the easiest ground on which a divorce can be obtained in most states. To get a divorce even on this ground, more or less of the entire intimate and distressing details of family life leading up to the desertion alleged must be bared to the public.

Courts are exacting in their evidence requirements, especially in default cases where the spouse sued makes no defense and when it is the custom for the state's attorney to defend him or her in their absence, cross-examining the plaintiff's witnesses. If any unsavory detail, any humiliating circumstance in the past life of the litigant, escapes being brought out, it is a marvel. As a court reporter I have listened to hundreds of cases, and know. What self-respecting man or woman—and most of us are that—will not count long the cost before recklessly submitting him or herself to this reputation-withering inquisition? What one does not, in fact, fully weigh the terrific cost and balance it against what advantages there are to be gained by a favorable decree?

That litigants do such weighing and hesitating, the statistics seem to establish. Take desertion, for instance, the predominating cause of action in the cases I examined, and it may be a surprise to some to know that in almost half the cases it had continued for three years or over before the wronged party filed suit for divorce. A year's abandonment sufficed for a cause of action on which a decree could be obtained. In a full 20 per cent of the cases where desertion was the ground for the decree, it had been continued four years, and the proportion of cases where the desertion had been five years prior to the filing of the suit was practically 10 per cent of the whole number of desertion cases. Large numbers do not get divorces on this ground until the desertion has run for eight, ten, twelve and fourteen years.

As mentioned before, in 70 per cent of the cases the divorce decree does not break up a home, the basis for this statement being the fact that in this number of cases the home was already broken up for periods ranging up to fifteen years. For the purpose of showing this in figures seven classifications of divorces were made, taking only cases where children were involved. In cases of this kind society as a whole has its chief interest. Whatever the personal views of different individuals may be in regard to making it easy or hard for married couples without children to get divorces, few will deny that restrictions should be greater where children are concerned, for in such cases there is society's interest in seeing that offspring are made good citizens and that they do not become public charges. An analysis of over three hundred divorce cases involving children shows the following facts:

Desertion was the cause of action in 38 per cent of the cases. As a decree cannot be had in this court on this ground unless the desertion has been for a full year before the filing of the complaint, we have 38 per cent of the divorces which show, without further analysis, that the family had been separated at least a year when the decree was signed, and, as pointed out above, the separation was over three years in only a few less than a majority of the cases. Taking the cases granted for causes other than desertion, we find that there is a class, containing 14 per cent of all cases, where the woman brought suit after she had earned support by her own labor for herself and children for periods of a year or over, and in some cases as long as ten years. Also, in all the cases in this 14 per cent the husband was not living with the family for at least a year prior to the institution of the action.

The third classification contains 7 per cent of the cases and includes all not granted for desertion, where there was a separation for over a year, since when the mother had the children in her custody. The next classification contains six per cent of the cases and includes those where the decree was not granted for desertion and where there had been a separation for a year or over, but where the disposition of the children during that separation was not made clear in the record.

In two and one-half per cent of the cases, also ones not granted for desertion, the record discloses an agreement between husband and wife dating back over a year in each case, under which agreement the family was separated, the husband and wife each having custody of a part of the children, or one having all the children.

The sixth classification also contains two and one-half per cent of the cases and includes all those not granted for desertion where the family was broken up for more than a year before the divorce was filed, the children during that time being with the father. The last classification includes all the rest of the cases, thirty per cent, in which the family had not been broken up at all before the divorce, or only for a period of less than a year.

A word as to the motives of people who get divorces might not be out of place, since to remarry can be said to be the motive of only a third of the litigants, because only a third actually do remarry. Of the motives of the other two-thirds, of which, of course, the court record cannot speak except indirectly, only one conclusion was reached. The motives are probably to escape intolerable conditions, to procure a final and equitable division of the property rights, where such rights are at stake, to determine who shall have the children in cases where the couple has children and has agreed to disagree, or, in the case of women, to obtain provision through alimony allowances for the support of minor children whom fathers have failed or refused to support.

In closing it might be well to add that I found only thirteen per cent of divorce cases are contested. The rest were granted on default of the person sued, the state's attorney appearing for the defendant to cross-examine the plaintiff's witnesses. In only ten per cent of the total cases do the courts grant alimony to the wife, and these mostly in cases where children are concerned. In 78 per cent of the cases the wife sues the husband.

The Yanks in France

By William H. Scheifley*

THE recent performance at the Paris Odéon of *Les Américains chez nous*, a new drama by Brieux, has delighted theatre-goers. Ever since the armistice the admirers of this playwright had awaited news of such an event. Apparently they did not realize how wholeheartedly Brieux had devoted himself to the needs of the war-blinded soldiers—a cause more sacred to him than the drama. Two years ago, in a letter to the present writer, he declared: "I haven't a moment to myself. The author in me is dead; what remains is consecrated to our blinded-soldiers." Obviously the distressing spectacle of those unfortunates, as well as his activity in connection with them, was not conducive to literary work.

At the outbreak of the war, Brieux was still a prolific playwright. *Le Bourgeois aux Champs*, pre-

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sented early in 1914, was his twenty-fourth piece, composed in as many years. Whereas most French dramatists had evinced a predilection for the time-honored triangular play with variations infinite yet ever the same, Brieux had conceived of something more serious. He thought it legitimate to combine the seasoning of entertainment with the wholesome substance of truth and morality. Instead of confining himself to adultery, psychic subtleties, and the frivolities of *salon* prattle, he sought to awaken interest in questions of the day, assailing such abuses as retard the triumph of democratic ideals and the progress of civilization. Believing with Dumas *fil*s that the tragedies of life are due to defective social institutions as well as to individual passions, he appealed to conscience, seeking to awaken in his hearers a sense of responsibility. Sometimes he disguised the moral, and sometimes he stressed it; and the graver the evil, as in *Les Avariés* and *Les Remplacantes*, the more didactic he became. Being a reformer, he was bound to admonish, denounce, and threaten. He has sought the betterment of social conditions, more equal application of justice, the mitigation of suffering, the dissemination of ethical culture, and the enlightenment of the masses. Naturally, his aspirations when given dramatic body have evoked the raillery of dilettante devotees of the doctrine of art for art's sake. In spite of this, he has held his way, each year depicting upon the boards some evil of which society must be purged. Without the eloquence of Dumas and Augier. He succeeds by virtue of his frank simplicity. Says André Antoine in a recent article: "Of all our dramatic authors, Brieux is perhaps the most truly popular, because the public at large feels that his works are both good deeds and remarkable plays, and because his theatre as a whole emphasizes brave and useful truths."

Brieux's achievements in the "play with a purpose" are due to his dramatic talent and to his social preoccupations. Both qualities may be seen in his best pieces: *La Robe Rouge*, treating judicial reform; *Blanchette*, dealing with public education in its relation to social climbing; *Les Trois Filles de M. Dupont*, his indictment of conventional marriage; *Le Berceau*, an attack upon the abuses of divorce; *L'Engrenage*, depicting certain evils of universal suffrage; and *Suzette*, upholding the rights of the child as opposed to the selfish contentions of quarreling parents. These plays sufficiently establish Brieux's assertion that social subjects are rich in dramatic substance. They prove that the didactic and the esthetic are not incompatible. As for *Les Avariés*, it demonstrates that a theme should not be rejected merely because it may seem unusual. Such, apparently, was the author's conviction in undertaking, also, *Les Américains chez nous*, the most difficult subject he has yet attempted.

Here Brieux contrasts the French and American temperaments as manifested by the two peoples co-operating in the World War. The French are sentimental and emotional, conscious in every act of the mysterious influence of centuries of culture. The Americans, young and buoyant are both idealistic and matter-of-fact, and dream rather of future achievements. The French mind delights in the abstract and universal; the American mind contents itself more readily with the concrete. The Frenchman regards every craft, even the mechanical, as requiring art; the American is willing to constitute himself part of a machine, if by so doing he can contribute to human happiness. He will undertake the boldest enterprises and will rally with humor the Frenchman's cautious timidity. The Yankee's easily affirmed opinions contrast with the diplomatic reserve of his host and ally. That misunderstandings should arise is inevitable; but Brieux, by explaining differences in the temperaments, manners, and ideals of the two peoples, seeks to reconcile them.

The scene of *Les Américains chez nous* is an estate near Dijon, where, with Charvet, a gentleman farmer, live his daughter of thirty-two and his son of twenty-six. The armistice has been signed, and

a Texan, who, earlier, had purchased for the army part of Charvet's estate, now seeks to buy for himself the remainder. When Charvet refuses, the Texan offers to exploit the farm according to modern methods. Irrigation will enhance its production tenfold. Yet Charvet cannot desecrate his ancestral property, though he needs the money. Charvet's son has been given his medical education at his sister's expense. He ought, therefore, to recognize his debt to her by marrying the French girl she has selected for him, but, instead, he prefers an American nurse, with whom he plans to journey to Chicago to practice his profession in a social settlement.

Nellie at first alienates the sympathy of Henri's sister and father by her unconventional conduct. She calls at his house before she has been duly introduced to them. She frowns upon their desire to have Henri remain at home. She fails to understand the sanctity of French family ties, and criticizes the sentimental tenderness of Henri's sister. Henri is torn between his love for Nellie and his duty to his relatives. Henriette, his sister, who would willingly slave for him, is pained to see him at the beck and call of the American girl.

From this deadlock only an outsider can rescue the three, and the outsider proves to be Smith, the Texan. He prevails at last upon Charvet to lease him the estate, and undertakes to improve it. To Henriette he says: "Instead of thinking of your ancestors, think of your descendants. You owe respect to the past, but you owe to the future the creation of that respect. In the immobility of your religion of the dead, you suppress life, and you prevent its realization. Riches sleep in your undeveloped land. It is a crime against nature, against humanity, above all, against France, and against yourselves to wish to keep this land sterile. There is grain and wine here for a hundred families, perhaps, and you would support only a hundred sheep. . . . Life! that is the master, the sovereign, the God. Act so that there may come into being a more abundant, greater, stronger life."

With the introduction of American methods, Smith arouses the antagonism of the French workmen, who balk at becoming mere machines. Theirs is a sentimental attitude. His is the attitude of a captain of industry. The resultant labor difficulties show Henri that his services and those of other loyal Frenchmen are needed at home. America, rich and unscathed by the war, can care for herself. But France, maimed and exhausted, requires the help of all her citizens. "Her children would be criminals to abandon her with her house in ruins," says Henri; and he adds that she must again mobilize just as in August, 1914, but with this difference, that volunteers alone will now be enrolled.

As to the misunderstandings of the French and the Americans, they have been due, Brieux infers, to peasant greed in overcharging foreigners and also to American prodigality, encouraging such greed. The discord has been intensified after the armistice by the uncompromising idealism of the Americans. Charvet states the case in a parable, intimating that he who lends a helping hand near the end of a gigantic operation must not seek to impose upon those who have performed the major portion a policy of disinterestedness that will rob them of the fruits of their efforts. But surely, declares Smith, who personifies the good sense of the American people, the two nations will not let themselves be estranged by bickerings. "We have undertaken together a great work; we shall not allow its success and our cordial relations to be compromised for the price of an omelet."

Henri's decision to practice medicine in France will reconcile his sister to his marriage. Henriette, to whom the stoic individualism of the Americans at first seemed monstrous, and Nellie, who for a time thought French "sentimentalism" unbearable, now understand each other. Credit for this is chiefly due to the genial Texan, whom the French, in spite of his brusque manner and aggressive tactics, can no longer resist. Even his rebellious workmen know that his industrial ideas are sound. Nor can Charvet desire more generous terms than those that he has

given for the lease. Better still, he and *Henriette* have found that French "tradition" and American "utility" may blend admirably. Concessions and mutual esteem go a long way toward clearing up any misunderstanding. Elated at the gratifying developments in Franco-American relations, *Smith* proposes to *Henriette* that they make the reconciliation complete by marriage.

Such is *Les Américains chez nous*; a good if not a great play. No doubt it is weak in dramatic situations. It diverts attention from larger issues to two love matches. It scarcely considers the war. And yet these are but the defects of its qualities. Brieux respects the aversion of theatre-goers today for war details and seeks to focus attention instead upon the period after the armistice. The personages involved in this double love story are truly representative of America and France, and the larger issues are implicit in his development of their views. If the dramatic possibilities of the subject are not so marked as they might be, he compensates for this lack by his careful psychology—a psychology that is both personal and national. *Henri* is perhaps too vacillating to prove a hero upon whom the recuperation of France may in part depend. *Henriette*, however, is delightful in her sisterly devotion and her old-world sentiment. *Nellie Brown* is more radical and individualistic than most American girls, yet she constitutes an admirable foil to *Henriette*. *Smith* is the best character—affable, energetic, resourceful, without the raillery and license of *Paul Bartlett*, the ranchman in Brieux's earlier play *La Française*.

On the whole, the dramatist has here held the scales evenly balanced, avoiding the temptation to flatter national prejudice. Neither France nor America is praised or blamed unduly, but each is explained to the other. The tone is conciliatory. The style avoids the angry denunciation of such earlier works as *Les Trois Filles de M. Dupont*, *La Robe Rouge*, *Le Petite Amie*, and *Maternité*. Yet the author's views have changed but little in six years. He still keeps a middle course between radicalism and conservatism. If he lacks delicacy and subtlety, he sees clearly and shows himself a frank, vigorous, healthy nature. His piece he dedicates to "The women of the United States who have stooped to assuage our griefs." It bids fair to serve as a happy contribution to the maintenance of friendly relations between two great peoples.

Who Owns the Tools

By Lockie Parker

ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY. C. H. Douglas. 1920. 141 pages. Harcourt, Brace, and Howe, New York.

A MAN who has acquired within the last decade through finance high or otherwise, more money than he has any rational use for, recently remarked with impatience that he had more money than sense, and that making money was absolutely the cheapest use to which you could put a human being. H. L. Mencken, too, says he has always found it ridiculously easy to make more money than he wanted. Of course, very few can hope to be as clever as Mr. Mencken but, admitting that every one is not gifted with ability to make much money, the striking point brought out by such not uncommon remarks is that this faculty of making money is not in itself a particularly noble trait, nor one highly esteemed by society in its long term views. The individuals who have possessed this faculty in the greatest degree have never aroused any enthusiasm or loyalty in their fellows at all comparable to that of a great warrior, poet, scientist, prophet, or even reformer. If Carlyle were among us now, he could not add to his essay on Hero-Worship a chapter dealing with the hero as financier. Certain popular and ostentatiously "American" periodicals have done all that is possible to enlist our admiration and affection for the merely successful. Skilled journalists have shown them to us in their most benevolent and endearing aspects. But the picture of a young mother with starry eyes and exalted soul training the child at her knee to become another Rockefeller, or to

emulate the marvelous "hog-murderers" of Chicago is still too utterly incongruous with the ideals of our race for us to take it seriously.

Yet such are the men whom our economic system has most uniformly and bountifully rewarded. In our present environment they are obviously the fit in the struggle for existence. College professors may be under-nourished, artists may starve, and poets have to publish books at their own expense, but the financier may always be safe and fat, given a good digestion. It is notorious that inventors, who have to their credit the remarkable advances in our industrial technique during the past century, have often died in penury.

In an industrial community, the individuals connected with production may claim their share of the wealth produced on three different bases: (1) As payment for time—salaries and time-rate wages; (2) payment for results—piece work in all its forms; (3) payment by financial manipulation—profit. "It should be noted that only the last of these combines possession of the amenities with opportunities for their fullest use."

Then, if our environment is such that the great rewards are going to individuals of a type which the community as a whole does not greatly esteem, and has no cause to value highly, we have to consider whether humanity has power to alter its environment, whether we are mere pawns of the gods, or, as some of our modern philosophers indicate, the victims of blind forces such as the Time Spirit.

Mr. Douglas is definitely of the first belief. He has visualized a most thorough reconstruction of our present society, and convinced himself of its practicality. This is the substance of his stimulating book. But, before introducing his own plan, he disposes of some of the commoner remedies offered. Government control of industries through bureaucratic socialism is criticized because it means centralized control, with the opportunities for misuse of power which that implies, and because it does not sufficiently take into account the psychology of the individual. He calls our attention to "a most astonishing fact that the experience of hundreds and thousands of men and women in such departments as the post-office, where real discontent is probably more general, and the material and psychological justification for it more obvious, than in any of the more modern industrial establishments, has not been sufficient to impress the public with the futility of mere nationalization." He is speaking of the English Post-Office, but the strikes in recent years among government and municipal employees in our own country can leave no doubt in our minds that government control is not a panacea. Any mere change in the personnel of the government, he also scouts as inadequate. As Mr. Hillquit recently remarked, the last three years should convince anyone of the fallacy of the "good man" theory in politics. Taxes, as a means of adjusting distribution, have been a spectacular failure; since the capitalists, controlling, as they do, the real economic power, were under no compulsion to pay these in any real sense and have skillfully shifted the cost to the consumer in higher and still higher prices.

So the board is cleared for a new plan. He lays his foundations carefully. There are two distinct aspects of the economic problem—consumption and production. Hitherto, most of the dissatisfaction has been voiced by the producers represented by organized labor, but every day the consumer becomes more vocal—witness in this country the Overall Clubs and the Chicago Tenants' League, who claim that ten thousand members refused on May first, either to move or pay higher rents, defying their landlords to oust them. Mr. Douglas' solution of consumption is quite simple. There is a rather limited and definite amount of food, clothing, and shelter that can be used to advantage by any one man, or, as a newspaper jingle once put it—

"John D.
May be
Richest man I'll ever see,
But there,—
Take the air;
He can't breathe more than one man's share."

Now the total amount needed for the entire population of a country would be quite easily calculable. A production program could be laid out in accordance with this. With the industrial technique at its present state, this could probably be disposed of by about three hours work per day on the part of every member of the community and, with further technical advances, this might even be lessened. In other words, if the race is really to get full benefit from our industrial technique, labor-saving devices should actually save labor and release the human being during the major part of the day "for other pursuits than the mere maintenance of life." This surely leaves an adequate margin for all the luxuries and refinements that the individual or community may find worth the trouble of achieving.

So much for consumption. The first requirements of an official production program are that it provides: (1) a right incentive to effort; (2) the removal of any possible incentive to waste. The strongest attack on socialism has been that it does not provide the first but, since Mr. Douglas' theories of industrial control are all based on decentralization of power and reward of individual initiative, he is not open to this attack. As for the second point, the incentive to waste in our present system has been shown again and again. In the *New Republic* of April 28, 1920, there was an analysis of the high cost of shoes, showing the disproportionate cost of manufacture and distribution. Walter Polakov has made some excellent studies of the waste and under-production in the coal and steel industries, and the expenditure of quantities of energy and material on advertising that is totally unproductive from the community standpoint is a common phenomenon. Mr. Douglas' plans for the internal organization of industry are too intricate to go into here but, as they are based on his experience as Assistant Superintendent of the Royal Aircraft Factory of England, they are worth serious consideration.

He believes that the logical point of attack on the present system is credit. Hitherto this has been monopolized by the bankers and financiers. They have controlled capital and so alone had the power to extend credit but "the only real capital is the estimate of the potential capacity under a given set of conditions, including plant, etc. of a Society to do work," and "real credit (i. e. that credit which is not mere inflation) is the measure of the effective reserve of energy belonging to a community, and, in consequence, drafts on this reserve should be accounted for by a financial system which reflects that fact." He takes the War Debt as a rather startling example of how our present system works, and I will quote directly some of his statements.

"This debt represents . . . services that have been rendered and munitions expended, consequently the loan represents a lien with interest on the future activities of the community, in favor of the holders of the loan; that is to say, the community guarantees the holders to work for them without payment, for an indefinite period, in return for services rendered by the subscribers to the loan. What are those services?"

"Disregarding holdings under \$5,000 and reinvestment of pre-war assets, the great bulk of the loan represents purchases by large industrial and financial undertakings, which obtained the money to buy by means of the creation and appropriation of credits at the expense of the community through the agency of industrial accounting and bank finance."

With the italics, which are Mr. Douglas' own, this makes a rather terrific indictment. Its proof hangs upon his definition of capital—"the only real capital is the estimate of the potential capacity under a given set of conditions, including plants, etc., of a Society to do work." Orthodox economics reads rather that capital is the conditions, that is, the tools and process, or the state of the industrial arts plus natural resources. These are at present legally owned and controlled by a minority. But the state of the industrial arts is obviously the cultural inheritance of the community and, to many, it is just as obvious that natural resources can never properly belong to an individual. Moreover, since it is always labor that makes both natural resources and cultural inheritance effective in production, there is some truth in the statement that we always come back to the community for payment, whoever lends the money. Capitalists

may vanish from the earth but if the community should cease to produce, liberty bonds would be waste paper.

These are a few of the most outstanding points in this treatise on "Economic Democracy" but the book itself is so remarkably condensed that no complete summary is possible. It bristles with ideas more or less adequately correlated to the main theme, which is the recasting of our environment through the distribution of economic power, in order to free the people's energies for the realization of a better society.



Un Infant Terrible

By Keeley Placer

LAST week the cablegrams announced that M. Millerand, Premier of France, had issued an order dissolving the national organization of trades unionism, because of certain of its policies. The heads of the union organization said the order was illegal and intimated that the order would be ineffective. As the cablegrams put it, the unions had been disorganizing France by a succession of strikes declared upon provocations so slight as to amount to no provocation at all. In short, the unions were accused of applying the methods of syndicalism in promoting what amounted in fact to a perpetual strike. M. Millerand's order was as much of a sensation as M. Briand's action some years ago before the war when, in order to break a strike of the workers on French railroads, he called the men to the colors. Briand was a Socialist, too. The workers appear to have accepted M. Millerand's order rather placidly. If there has been any resistance it must have been of the kind called "passive", though it is not improbable that the French censorship, the strongest in the world, has clamped the lid on outgoing news of such disturbances as may have occurred.

It is possible, or rather probable that the Millerand order had for its object the extirpation of another movement in France that threatened grave interference with government upon economic and other matters. This movement we have heard but little about in this country, but it strikes deeper than the strike, though conceivably in the ultimate the strike might be its weapon, or let us say tool. The story of this movement is of interest on this side of the water, where there is no lack of social, industrial, economic discontent.

Shortly after the armistice, French labor began to demand a great economic council, which should include representatives of the government and delegates from all classes of consumers and producers. After considerable repetition and insistence, the government heard the demand and established a council to consist of representatives of each of the ministers of departments and three delegates each from organized labor and the chambers of commerce. The council was to be convoked whenever its president thought good, and its function was to give advice on all economic questions submitted to it.

This plan was promptly and unanimously rejected by organized labor. When the *Confederation Generale du Travail* held its first national congress after the war, it decided to take the initiative in the formation of an economic council similar to that it had asked of the government. Roger Picard, in a recent number of *La Mercure*, gives an excellent account of the organization that resulted—the *Conseil Economique du Travail*. It was organized on January eighth, at Paris, and forthwith began its work. Thus, over night, the government had on its hands an organized body of nearly six million people representing all the chief interests and functions of society, and proposing to peaceably criticize and initiate government economic policy, because they are competent to do so.

The council was formed by the union for certain purposes of four previously existing organizations.

1. The *Confederation Generale du Travail*—the

great labor organization of France—numbering two million members.

2. The *Federation des Fonctionnaires*, which includes all organizations of government employes. This group in recent years has shown remarkable strength, and has written one of the most interesting chapters in the history of French Syndicalism.

3. The *Federation Nationale des Co-operatives du Consommation*, or the great consumers' league, which, organized in 1913, now numbers three million members. It helped very efficiently during the war in the distribution and control of food and other necessities.

4. *L'Union Syndicale des Techniciens du Commerce et de l'Agriculture*, or as it is popularly known, *l'Ustica*. This is a union of technical experts and men of the liberal professions. It is of more recent formation and fewer in numbers than the others, but its importance to the whole can hardly be overestimated, since it brings within the organization men capable of giving expert advice on the economic and industrial questions which will come before the council.

That this council bears a rather exalted resemblance to the institution now generally called a Soviet, must be apparent to anyone.

There is nothing very startlingly new, however, in the doctrines of the *Conseil Economique du Travail*; for they are quite in accord with the socialist tradition. They would "return to the hands of the associated producers and consumers the means of production and exchange, of which they have been dispossessed to the profit of a few."

The method by which they hope to accomplish this is extravagantly simple and irreproachably peaceable. They countenance no talk of revolution, nor resort to force. Their single weapon is to be the *appeal to reason*—in other words, propaganda on a huge scale. They have a program of definite action and systematic reform, and hope to put it through by the force of an informed public opinion.

For example, national finances are at present one of the most pressing questions in France. The financial section of the council will work out some definite suggestion for budget reform or other practical revision of the present system, and then, through the press, through public meetings, through personal presentation of the measure to public powers and members of parliament, and, above all, through the organized groups themselves, it is hoped to form such a mass of public opinion in favor of the measure that the most recalcitrant government will hesitate to oppose it.

But fancy a government as bureaucratic as the French, and with each department so notoriously jealous of its powers, consenting without a struggle to the existence of an organization which proposes not only to criticize but to initiate departmental policies.

It is interesting to compare an article in the same number of *La Mercure* by Raoul Labry on the attitude of the Quai d'Orsay towards Russian affairs. The government refused again and again to hear the most disinterested and important testimony from those—not members of the department—who have actually been on the grounds. A commercial organization of manufacturers, merchants, and financiers, organized to protect business interests in Russia, found not only that their work was obstructed, but that they were treated as a disloyal force, threatening the very ministerial existence. As French affairs go, this is an extreme but still characteristic example of the spirit of the French departments. This being so, one can see where the *Conseil Economique du Travail*, by the very definiteness of its proposals, was destined to arouse immense hostility in the government quarter. In any case, the organization is a power to be reckoned with.

It would seem to stand to reason that if the C. G. T.—corresponding to our American Federation of Labor—is dissolved by M. Millerand's order, the backbone of the great Economic Council of Labor will be broken.

Twenty Sonnets

By Edna Vincent Millay

XVI

SOMETIMES when I am wearied suddenly
Of all the things that are the outward you,
And my gaze wanders ere your tale is through
To webs of my own weaving, or I see
Abstractedly your hands about your knee
And wonder why I love you as I do:
Then I recall, "Yet Sorrow thus he drew;"
Then I consider, "Pride thus painted he."
Oh, friend, forget not, when you fain would note
In me a beauty that was never mine,
How first you knew me in a book I wrote,
How first you loved me for a written line:
So are we bound, till broken is the throat
Of Song, and Art no more leads out the Nine.

XVII

EUCLID alone has looked on Beauty bare;
Let all that prate of Beauty hold their peace,
And lay them prone upon the earth, and cease
To ponder on themselves, the while they stare
At nothing, intricately drawn nowhere
In shapes of shifting lineage—let geese
Gabble and hiss, but heroes seek release
From dusty bondage into luminous air.
Oh, blinding hour, oh, holy, terrible day,
When first the shaft into his vision shone
Of light anatomized!—Euclid alone
Has looked on Beauty bare; fortunate they
Who though once only, and then but far away,
Have heard her massive sandal set on stone.

XVIII

ONLY until this cigarette is ended,
A little moment at the end of all,
While on the floor the quiet ashes fall,
And in the firelight to a lance extended,
Bizarrely with the jazzing music blended,
The broken shadow dances on the wall,
I will permit my memory to recall
The vision of you, by all my dreams attended.
And then adieu!—farewell!—the dream is done.
Yours is a face of which I can forget
The color and the features, every one,
The words not ever, and the smiles not yet,
But in your day this moment is the sun
Upon a hill, after the sun has set.

XIX

I SHALL go back again to the bleak shore,
And build a little shanty on the sand,
In such a way that the extremest band
Of brittle seaweed shall escape my door
But by a yard or two, and nevermore
Shall I return to take you by the hand;
I shall be gone to what I understand,
And happier than I ever was before.
The love that stood a moment in your eyes,
The words that lay a moment on your tongue,
Are one with all that in a moment dies,
A little under-said and over-sung,
But I shall find the sullen rocks and skies
Unchanged from what they were when I was young.

XX

CHERISH you then the hope I shall forget
At length, my lord, Pieria?—put away
For your so passing sake, this mouth of clay,
These mortal bones against my body set,
For all the puny fever and frail sweat
Of human love,—renounce for these, I say,
The Singing Mountain's memory, and betray
The silent lyre that hangs upon me yet?
Ah, but indeed, some day shall you awake,
Rather, from dreams of me, that at your side
So many nights, a lover and a bride,
But stern in my soul's chastity, have lain,
To walk the world forever for my sake,
And in each chamber find me gone again!

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Letters from the People

The Debs Candidacy

Milwaukee, May 17, 1920.

Editor of Reedy's Mirror:

I notice that Brother George Johns in the *P-D* adopts "treat 'em rough" tactics toward 'Gene Debs' presidential candidacy.

Br'er George's editorial errs in saying Debs "admitted the charges against him and gloried in his offenses."

Debs' admitted that he made the public statements for which he was indicted, tried, convicted and given a ten-year term in Federal prison—but he did not admit that the utterance of those statements was a crime or an offense of any kind against the law, because our Federal Constitution in the plainest words guaranteed his right—my right—any citizen's right—to utter such statements as he made, if therein the speaker's honest beliefs are expressed.

Debs did not advise anyone to disobey or resist the draft act, nor to commit any disloyal act. He merely declared his personal opinion that our country's entrance into the European war was instigated by men and corporations that sought a pocket profit from it.

Mr. Wilson, in St. Louis, last autumn, in a public address, said substantially the same thing—to-wit: that this war was one of commercial origin.

The *Star*, fairer than the *P-D*, in its editorial comment on Debs' nomination by the Socialist party, cites the fact that Daniel Webster "was ten times more disloyal in the war of 1912, than Mr. Debs"—and might have added that Abraham Lincoln more violently than either criticised our war with Mexico while it was in progress.

In those days no American president had yet dared to make a "scrap of paper" of the United States Constitution and of its guaranty of liberty of conscience and of opinion.

Debs was nominated by his party—as I predicted in your paper several months ago that he would be—because Debs in prison for his opinions—for uttering criticisms of the public acts and policies of his public servants which the United States Constitution declares he had and has a lawful right to utter—IS the paramount issue in the campaign of 1920. Either American citizens have a Federal constitution, and some guaranteed rights under it, or they have not. The vote for Debs will be, in essence, the vote of those Americans who believe that the Constitution still lives, in spite of the traitorous efforts of a Bourbon administration to destroy it.

FRANK PUTNAM

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This Seems About Right

Nashville, Tenn., May 12, 1920.

Editor of Reedy's Mirror:

If you will permit me, I cannot but think you state the farmer's case and the farmer's point of view very inaccurately in your editorial "Something's Going to Happen" in the *MIRROR* of May 6th. You say, "Now the farmer wants more and wants it first. He will not go in for large acreage of anything. He is going on a strike of his own, a strike on the job, as it were. A systematic sabotage."

I do not think this is true at all.

Certainly it is not of the great majority of farmers. There is going to be lessening in production of nearly all farm crops this year, but it is not going to come because of any strike on the part of the farmers, or any unwillingness of them to produce.

It is going to come simply because enough men can not be had on the farm to tend the normal amount of land. The men can not be had, simply because they can make more elsewhere than farmers can afford to pay them. This time next year either farm products will be higher or wages and the prices of manufactured articles lower. The relationship between the things the farmer produces and the things the farmer has to buy must be changed, or the country is going to face actual food shortage for the first time since it became a nation.

I entertain no idea that the farmers are any more self-sacrificing patriots than the rest of the people in the country. I know of no reason why they should be called on to be such. The

sensible farmer knows that he must produce a surplus, if he is to make his farming pay him a profit. He is going to fail in a lot of cases to produce that surplus this year, and his failure will be directly due to the public policies of the past half century which have been such as systematically to take from the farmer much of what he has produced and give it to other classes. This is the situation. To talk about the farmers being on a strike is foolish. They are working more hours to the day right now than any other class of people in the country.

E. E. MILLER
—The Southern Agriculturist.

He's a Baer

New York, May 12, 1920.
Editor of Reedy's Mirror:
"I am surprised."

Everyone knows that Elmer Chubb is Dr. Berthold A. Baer.

Just compare his Funeral Church sermons with the Chubb articles and—there you are!
T. J. CURLEY

The Socialist Platform

Daily newspapers have told about the nomination by the Socialist party of Eugene F. Debs and Seymour Stedman, for President and Vice President, but the party platform has not been printed. So many people know Socialism only as a sort of bugaboo word, it may be of interest to know what specifically Socialism stands for generally and more particularly in this year's campaign. The complete platform, as published in the New York Times is given here.

IN the national campaign of 1920 the Socialist Party calls upon all American workers of hand and brain, and upon all citizens who believe in political liberty and social justice, to free the country from the oppressive misrule of the old political parties, and to take the Government into their own hands under the banner and upon the program of the Socialist Party.

The outgoing Administration, like Democratic and Republican Administrations of the past, leaves behind it a disgraceful record of solemn pledges unscrupulously broken and public confidence ruthlessly betrayed.

It obtained the suffrage of the people on a platform of peace, liberalism and social betterment, but drew the country into a devastating war, and inaugurated a regime of despotism, reaction and oppression unsurpassed in the annals of the Republic.

It promised to the American people a treaty which would assure to the world a reign of international right and true democracy. It gave its sanction and support to an infamous pact formulated behind closed doors by predatory elder statesmen of European and Asiatic Imperialism. Under this pact territories have been annexed against the will of their population, lands cut off from their sources of sustenance, and nations seeking their freedom in the exercise of the much heralded right of self-determination have been brutally fought with armed force, intrigue and starvation blockades.

To the millions of young men, who staked their lives on the field of battle, to the people of the country who gave unstintingly of their toil and property to support the war, the Democratic Administration held out the sublime ideal of a union of the peoples of the world organized to maintain perpetual peace among nations on the basis of justice

and freedom. It helped create a reactionary alliance of imperialistic governments, banded together to bully weak nations, crush working-class governments and perpetuate strife and warfare.

While thus furthering the ends of reaction, violence and oppression abroad, our administration suppressed the cherished and fundamental rights and civil liberties at home.

Upon the pretext of wartime necessity the Chief Executive of the republic and the appointed heads of his administration were clothed with dictatorial powers, and Congress enacted laws in open and direct violation of the constitutional safeguards of freedom of expression.

Hundreds of citizens who raised their voices for the maintenance of political and industrial rights during the war were indicted under the Espionage law, tried in an atmosphere of prejudice and hysteria and many of them are now serving inhumanly long jail sentences for daring to uphold the traditions of liberty which once were sacred in this country.

Agents of the Federal Government unlawfully raided homes and meeting places and prevented or broke up peaceable gatherings of citizens.

The Postmaster General established a censorship of the press more autocratic than that ever tolerated in a regime of absolutism, and has harassed and destroyed publications on account of their political and economic views, by excluding them from the mails.

And after the war was in fact long over the Administration has not scrupled to continue a policy of repression and terrorism under the shallow and hypocritical guise of wartime measures.

It has practically imposed involuntary servitude and peonage on a large class of American workers by denying them the right to quit work and coercing

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The Company's Dividend earnings are at the rate of nearly SIX TIMES the \$210,000 a year needed to pay 7 per cent dividends on its \$3,000,000 of preferred stock outstanding and on sale.

Union Electric's 7 per cent preferred stock is now offered to the general public, to finance further growth, as a most desirable investment for those who want a fair dividend rate with safety for their principal. It is preferred both as to dividends and in any distribution of assets, over the \$11,000,000 of common stock. It is not cumulative; but, for the reasons stated above, and because Union Electric is a PERMANENT, NECESSARY, PROSPEROUS business, State-appraised and State-regulated, its yearly dividends of \$7 a year on each \$100 share are, in our judgment, far more dependable than those of most preferred stocks whose preference is cumulative. For the investor who cannot afford to risk a loss, ABILITY TO DELIVER THE GOODS, proven over a long period of years, is more important than a paper promise.

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them into acceptance of inadequate wages and onerous conditions of labor. It has dealt a foul blow to the traditional American right of asylum by deporting hundreds of foreign-born workers, by administrative order, on the mere suspicion of harboring radical views, and often for the sinister purpose of breaking labor strikes.

In the short span of three years our self-styled liberal administration has succeeded in undermining the very foundation of political liberty and economic rights, which this republic has built up in more than a century of struggle and progress.

Under the cloak of a false and morbid patriotism and under the protection of governmental terror the Democratic Administration has given the ruling classes unrestrained license to plunder the people by intensive exploitation of labor, by the extortion of enormous profits, and by increasing the cost of all necessities of life. Profiteering has become reckless and rampant, billions have been coined by the capitalists out of the suffering and misery of their fellow men. The American financial oligarchy has become a dominant factor in the world, while the condition of the American workers grows more precarious.

The responsibility does not rest upon the Democratic Party alone. The Republican Party through its representatives in Congress and otherwise has not only openly condoned the political misdeeds of the last three years, but it has sought to outdo its Democratic rival in the orgy of political reaction and repression. Its criticism of the Democratic, administrative policy is that it is not reactionary and drastic enough.

We particularly denounce the militaristic policy of both old parties of investing countless millions of dollars in armaments after the victorious completion of what was to have been the

"last war;" we call attention to the fatal results of such a program in Europe, carried on prior to 1914, and culminating in the Great War; we declare that such a policy, adding unbearable burdens to the working class and all the people, can lead only to the complete Prussianization of the Nation, and we demand immediate and complete abandonment of the fatal program.

America is now at the parting of the roads. If the outraging of political liberty and concentration of economic power into the hands of the few is permitted to go on, it can have only one consequence, the reduction of the country to a state of capitalist despotism.

The Socialist Party of the United States therefore summons all who believe in this fundamental doctrine to prepare for a complete reorganization of our social system, based upon public ownership of public necessities; upon government by representatives chosen from occupational as well as from geographical groups, in harmony with our industrial development; and with citizenship based on service; that we may end forever the exploitation of class by class.

The Socialist Party sounds the warning. It calls upon the people to defeat both old parties at the polls, and to elect the candidates of the Socialist Party to the end of restoring political democracy and bringing about complete industrial freedom.

To achieve this end the Socialist Party pledges itself to the following program:

Foreign Relations

1. All claims of the United States against allied countries for loans made during the war should be canceled upon the understanding that all war debts, including indemnities, among such countries shall likewise be canceled. The largest possible credit in food, raw material and machinery should be extended to the stricken nations of Europe in order to help them rebuild the ruined world.

2. The Government of the United States should initiate a movement to dissolve the mischievous organization called the "League of Nations" and to create an international parliament, composed of democratically elected representatives of all nations of the world, based upon the recognition of their equal rights, the principles of self-determination, the right to national existence of colonies and other dependencies, freedom of international trade and trade routes by land and sea, and universal disarmament, and charged with revising the treaty of peace on the principles of justice and conciliation.

3. The United States should immediately make peace with the Central Powers and open commercial and diplomatic relations with Russia under the Soviet Government. It should promptly recognize the independence of the Irish Republic.

4. The United States should make and proclaim it a fixed principle in its foreign policy that American capitalists who acquire concessions or make investments in foreign countries do so at their own risk, and under no circumstances should our Government enter into diplomatic negotiations or controversies or



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resort to armed conflicts on account of foreign property-claims.

Political

1. The constitutional freedom of speech, press and assembly should be restored by repealing the espionage law and all other repressive legislation, and by prohibiting the executive usurpation of authority.

2. All prosecutions under the espionage law should be discontinued and all persons serving prison sentences for alleged offenses growing out of religious convictions, political views or industrial activities should be fully pardoned and immediately released.

3. No alien should be deported from the United States on account of his political views or participation in labor struggles, nor in any event without proper trial on specific charges. The arbitrary power to deport aliens by administrative order should be repealed.

4. The power of the courts to restrain workers in their struggles against employers by the writ of injunction or otherwise and their power to nullify Congressional legislation should be abrogated.

5. Federal Judges should be elected by the people and be subject to recall.

6. The President and the Vice President of the United States should be elected by direct popular election and be subject to recall.

7. All members of the Cabinet should be elected by Congress and be responsible to Congress.

8. Suffrage should be equal and unrestricted, in fact as well as in law, for all men and women throughout the nation.

9. Adequate provision should be made for the registration of the votes of migratory workers.

10. The Constitution of the United States should be amended to strengthen the safeguards of civil and political liberty and to remove all obstacles to industrial and social reform and reconstruction, including the changes enumerated in this program, in keeping with the will and interest of the people. It should be made amendable by a majority of the voters of the nation upon their own initiative, or upon the initiative of Congress.

Social

1. All business vitally essential for the existence and welfare of the people, such as railroads, express service, steamship lines, telegraphs, mines, oil wells, power plants, elevators, packing houses, cold storage plants and all industries operating on a national scale should be taken over by the nation.

2. All publicly owned industries should be administered jointly by the Government and representatives of the workers, not for revenue or profit, but with the sole object of securing just compensation and humane conditions of employment to the workers and efficient and reasonable service to the public.

3. All banks should be acquired by the Government and incorporated in a unified public banking system.

4. The business of insurance should be taken over by the Government and should be extended to include insurance against accident, sickness, invalidity, old age and unemployment, without contribution on the part of the worker.

5. Congress should enforce the provisions of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth

Amendments, with reference to the negroes, and effective Federal legislation should be enacted to secure to the negroes full civil political, industrial and educational rights.

Industrial

1. Congress should enact effective laws to abolish child labor, to fix minimum wages, based on an ascertained cost of a decent standard of life, to protect migratory and unemployed workers from oppression, to abolish detective and strikebreaking agencies and to establish a shorter workaday in keeping with increased industrial productivity.

Fiscal

1. That all war debts and other debts of the Federal Government must be immediately paid off in full, the funds for such payment to be raised by means of a progressive property tax, whose burden should fall upon the rich and particularly upon great fortunes made during the war.

2. A standing progressive income and a graduated inheritance tax should be levied to provide for all needs of the Government, including the cost of its increasing social and industrial functions.

3. The unearned increment of land should be taxed. All land held out of use should be taxed at full rental value.



St. Paul's Housecleaning
By O. S. M.

St. Paul had a municipal housecleaning May 4. The entire existing city council consisting of six commissioners under the commission plan, steps out, with the exception of one commissioner, a labor man who has been on the council for two years. A labor-soldier regime succeeds. In place of the five present commissioners the people have elected two labor candidates and three ex-service men. This gives labor three votes on the council, and the service men three. Mayor Hodgson was re-elected, defeating William Mahoney, labor candidate. The mayor has a vote in the council.

The campaign and its aftermath are no less interesting than the composition of the new council. It was the hottest political fight ever staged in the city and brought out the biggest vote. Over 40,000 ballots were cast. The labor candidate for mayor was defeated by a few more than 2000 votes. Hodgson ran against the labor candidate for mayor. For the council, labor had four candidates, an ex-service men's organization had three candidates, and four of the incumbents ran for re-election besides the labor incumbent, and there was a twelfth candidate who got by the primaries when a member of the council declined to run for re-election—twelve candidates for six councilmanic positions.

The labor candidates were put in the field by the Working People's Non-partisan league, which co-operates with the National Non-partisan league in state affairs. They campaigned on the issue of kicking the O'Connor machine out of city politics, and the labor publicity attacked Hodgson and his administration for the police scandals, city treasury scandals and fraudulent voting scandals which have disgraced the city during the last few years.

The opposition to the labor candidates

declared "socialism" and "class government" were the real issues. They alleged that the labor candidates were socialists, allied with the socialists or sympathetic with socialist doctrine, and that their election would produce a city administration committed to radical measures of all kinds.

The defeat of Mahoney for mayor and Emme, candidate for the council, is clearly traceable to the effect of this "issue" on the voters. Mahoney ran as a Socialist candidate for congress in

1914, but withdrew from the party on account of the party's stand on the war. Since then he has claimed he is not a Socialist. He has been a leader in A. F. of L. and state labor federation activities. Emme, on the other hand, proclaimed himself a Socialist, and ran last on the labor ticket in the vote. He is a member of the machinists' union and was a candidate for mayor in 1918, running frankly as a Socialist.

But the charge of "socialism" and "bolshevism" didn't stick against Clancy,

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The scabbard is of 18-carat green gold, embossed with laurel, encircled with bands of 18-carat yellow gold, on which is engraved Gen. Pershing's complete military record. On each side of the presentation inscription is a row of diamonds; while the four stars signify Gen. Pershing's rank, seen between the encircling bands, are of blue white diamonds set in platinum. Just below the inscription is the seal of Missouri. At the end of the scabbard, on each side, is raised in yellow gold a representation of the American eagle.

The blade is of steel, 32 inches long, and profusely etched with typical emblems. The hilt is of 18-carat gold, hand chased, engraved and studded with diamonds, rubies and multi-colored sapphires. In the hilt base is a large blue sapphire—Pershing's birthstone. Engraved on one side of the handle are the words, "Lafayette We Are Here," and on the reverse side are shown Pershing's foreign service stripes.

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re-elected to the council by labor, or against Wenzel and Smith, the other two labor candidates who went over, and who ran on the same platform. They directly accused Smith of having "socialist leaning" and being an "extreme radical," and indirectly tried to tar Wenzel and Clancy with the same stick, but they had no proof of the charge to offer.

The middle-class vote and much of the labor vote is not ready yet to elect socialists or "suspected socialists" under a labor or any other banner, but will support labor candidates, even radical ones, who cannot be proved socialists. They are afraid of the name. That seems to be demonstrated. Yet Mahoney's vote was nearly 20,000, against only 22,000 for his opponent—certainly a narrow margin for the victor.

What the *Pioneer Press* said, the

day after election, is significant. With the other dailies, the *Pioneer Press* insisted that socialism and socialism only was the issue, and wouldn't back the labor boys in their fight on the O'Connor machine and on municipal corruption. But the morning after the election this paper said:

"We do not regard the relatively large vote polled by Mr. Mahoney as a socialist vote, although the Socialism of the candidate who received it was very thinly veneered for campaign purposes. It is rather a vote of desperation—cast in large measure by thousands of good citizens who have become so exasperated by childish incompetence at the city hall that they are willing even to give Socialism a trial. Had any other than a Socialist candidate been presented in opposition to the present Mayor, there is not the slightest question that Mr. Hodgson would have received the most tremendous defeat ever administered by the voters of this community."

"O'Connorism ought to have been the issue of this election. And it would have been the issue, except for the fact that it was employed by Socialism as a pretext upon which to seize the city government. St. Paul was asked to swap a Democratic

gang for a Socialist *bund*, and St. Paul has, very wisely we think, refused to have such a trade."

"But yesterday's results, so far as they are apparent at this hour, contain a solemn warning. The sort of government that has been inflicted upon St. Paul in recent years must go. Public patience has been strained to the breaking point. It is everlastingly tired of money scandals, police scandals, St. Peter street scandals—so tired that it has almost been tempted to swap a known devil for an unknown witch."

Thus the opposition admits, after it is all over, that Mahoney had the real issue—decency in city government—but that indecency is preferable to socialism or alleged socialism. In other words, anything to beat socialism, or, which is more nearly the truth, anything to beat labor candidates, whether socialists or not. The *P.-P.* fought all the labor candidates. Corruption and bossism are better than "class government!"

The observations of the *Daily News*,

on the day after election, were practically an indorsement of the labor platform on which Mahoney ran. Although the *News* opposed Mahoney along with the rest of the papers, it recommends, after his defeat, that his platform be "carefully considered" by Mayor Hodgson, because "it cannot be ignored, not because of its origin, but because of its support The handwriting on the wall is perfectly clear."

How honest was the *News'* position of being for the program but against the man, the reader can judge. The *News* supported both man and platform in the primaries, and "switched" in the election campaign, after the united business interests had decreed that Mahoney should not get by.

The soldiers and their candidates, on the whole, made a clean campaign, ing all their council candidates. The election proves that the old order is passing and indicates that labor and ex-service men are going to play an important part in elections this year.

I believe labor made a clean campaign for the election of its men in St. Paul. I believe the opposite is the case with the opposition. I know Mr. Mahoney personally. He is president of the Trades and Labor Assembly. He has a high sense of the duties of good citizenship and the responsibilities of public office. He is a large St. Paul taxpayer, a homeowner, was superintendent of one of the largest printing companies in the city (before he had to resign because his candidacy "embarrassed" his employers in a business way) and is not in any sense a destructive radical. Like many honest men before the war (and many since) he turned to the Socialist party, because he saw no hope at all in the other parties. He quit the party during the war and never went back to it. He is no more a socialist than I am. He waged a clean campaign, but this is what the opposition did:

It refused to admit till after the election that bossism and municipal corruption were the issues.

It plastered the bill boards with quotations from Roosevelt against socialism, although socialism was not an issue and could not have been made effective, under the city charter, by Mahoney or anyone else.

It organized the "For Home and Country league" to fight the labor candidates, the very name of the organization being an affront to labor and its candidates, assuming, as it does, that labor was making some kind of an attack on "home and country." This league flooded the mails with "literature" for weeks.

It succeeded in muzzling the only independent paper in the state (the St. Paul *News*) and turning it against Mahoney at the eleventh hour, after it had supported him in the primaries. The support of his paper would have elected him. He had no press support whatever.

But labor has gained two more seats in the council and greatly increased its total vote in the city. The vote means, I think, that St. Paul will go for the farmer-labor progressive Republican state ticket in the June primaries.

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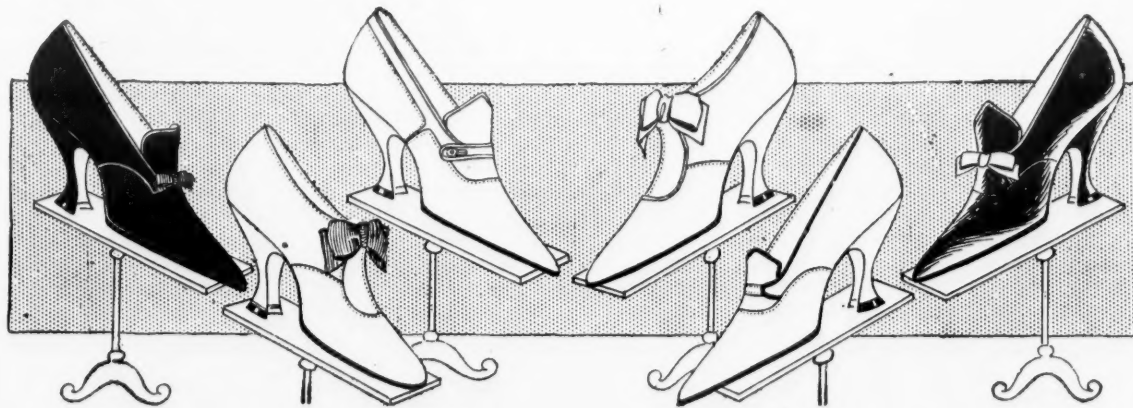
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STIX BAER & FULLER
GRAND-LEADER

Guti

By Roger Casement

This story appeared originally in *The Outlook*, London, April 23, 1898. It is reproduced here from the *Gaelic-American*, New York.

UM SWAZI, the great chief of the Swazis, was growing old. And in his old age he desired peace; and with failing strength he looked for other things in the hearts of his people than an untamable valor which once was the sole passport to his favor.

But, stricken by the midst of age, his old eyes still loved the sunlight of the valleyed plains, where the royal cattle of a hundred kraals fed by the banks of the Great Usutu River, and still were steadfastly turned from the dark heights of the Ndimba range, in whose sepulchral caves slept his warrior fathers. Too long, thought Mandwasi, the King's favored son, were those old eyes turned away from the burying heights of his race; and so, ere they closed in the final sleep of peace, they once again held the light of battle. The clans gathered to the old King's call; the faithful plavela—his bodyguard of tried warriors—closed around him, with bonnets of black ostrich plumes and black ox-hide shields, in impenetrable ring, and the sun sank over the plain of Lotiti on the glare of burning kraals, and the Usutu running red with blood—the blood of Mandwasi's annihilated faction. The King's son escaped far to the south, where Pando ruled in Zululand; but his friends were left to pay the penalty of his crime.

The judgments were pronounced, and the valleys shook to the tread of the plavela hurrying to work the King's doom on all who had aided his rebel son.

Um Swazi sat in the royal kraal—his councillors around him—a semicircle of strong-armed, broad-chested warriors, filling the square up to the high fence of the cattle-pen. An old woman—almost as old as the King—stood bowed before him. The King spoke—and the silence of the multitude awaited the doom of her who stood before them—the mother of the fugitive Mandwasi!

"I am weary of killing—the rivers have carried enough blood of my people to the bay—and thou who hast betrayed thy husband and borne a son to smite his father, shalt not die." A murmur passed around the throng. The King continued, and it died away. "Um Swazi bids you begone from among his people—from the sunshine of the plains to the chill hills of the Inkomati. There thou may'st end thy days with thy face turned away from the land thou would'st have torn in half—with thine eyes turned to the Basutos, who are dogs—and no more look upon the plains of the Usutu—the cradle of thy people. Go!"

The old woman fell upon her knees and praised the mercy of the King, the warriors beat their spears against their shields, the chanter of the royal praises took up again the loud bonga of approval, and Mandwakila, the King's first wife—the mother of his eldest son—she who had borne and nursed a rebel—with bowed head and streaming eyes, turned her tottering feet out of the royal kraal, across the little Shutilani stream and went slowly and wearily up to the hill of exile, across the red shoulder of

Ndimba that shuts the Embabrani valley from the broad green plains of Lotiti.

✱

Um Swazi was growing very old, and his heart sighed in its lonely sorrow for kindness and unselfish love. All around him were only fearful and timid beings, and his people were filled with selfishness. Every man thought only of himself, and if a poor man asked but for the most trifling help on the wayside, no Swazi gave other answer but the one unfailing "Guti," which may be translated, "There is none—at least none for you."

It may have happened that after renewed pleading the "Guti" would be softened into a tacit and tardy offering of the thing sought—a bowl of pulo, or a tiny calabash of curdled milk; but through all the land of the Swazis a preliminary selfishness of response was certain to meet even the most trifling call upon the charity or kindness of the people. Man, woman and child—a ready

"Guti" safeguarded them against all comers, and this stereotyped response, "None for you," would greet even the weary wayfarer who might ask for that most universal of all the symbols of greeting, a tiny pinch of snuff or a piece of tobacco leaf from which to make it. And the old King's heart was very weary of this selfishness of his people.

Calling to him one day a body of the strongest and fleetest young men of one of his regiments, he addressed them:

"Go ye into all the kraals, and upon every road, and along the farthest hillside and valleys of my people, and wherever ye go, ask each of ye from whomsoever ye meet, a pinch of snuff. Ask it freely as a gift, and he of my people who shall first give what you ask without saying 'Guti,' him seize and bring to me. Go; scatter ye on the paths, every man by a different way through all the land of the Swazis."

And so the young men with loud cries—"Baba! Mkoos! Father Great Chief!" and hands lifted high above their heads—sped through the paths from Lotiti, with swift feet upon the King's bidding.

The days passed; two weeks had come and gone; the first messenger to return came running swiftly, yet weary, and red with dust, up the hill from the Usutu,

and fell on his knees in Um Swazi's presence. The old King looked at him. "Whence came you?" "From Mahambu, O great one! and the banks of the Pangolo." "Well?" But the messenger bent his head lower, and only one word came through his dust-stained lips—"Guti." At sunset came the second. "Whence come you?" asked Um Swazi. "From the crest of the Laborubo, and the deep-ridged valleys of the Matola, that seeks the great waters of the Bay from Impondwinana's kraal. "Well?" asked the King. And the wearied head of the panting boy bent lower, as, in hoarse whisper he said only the one word, "Guti."

And now, swiftly dragging their wearied limbs into the royal enclosure, one after the other, day by day, came back the seekers of the fruitless quest—and all with the one simple negative—until all but one had returned to bear the same witness to the old King of the universal selfishness of his people.

And old Um Swazi sighed wearily as he waited the coming of the last one.

✱
Up along green hill in the far north of Swaziland the messenger toiled. He was hungry and footsore, although the dust on his legs had been washed away by the waters of the little stream he



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had just splashed through at the foot of the hill. Near the top he paused for breath, and gazed out upon the wide view opening on his right. These were the hills of the northwest frontier of Swaziland, near where today stands the town of Steynsdorp—then a bare green stretch of upland grass, through which the infant streams of the little and great Usutu hurry along to plunge into the great barrier of hills, where pursued by overtaking mountain torrents, they race down in foaming cascade and through flower-rimmed valleys wet with noonday mists to the smiling sunshine of the plains of Lotiti and Mbekelweni. This wide tableland was in places broken with lakes and sedgy pools, across whose shallow bays waded cranes and wildfowl, and to which innumerable herds of quagga, kudu, hartebeest and other antelope came to drink, hunted occasionally by wandering bands of bushmen, who would chase the frightened game by describing in wide but ever-narrowing circles across the plain a series of strange antics—doubling their misshapen bodies like catherine wheels, and spinning around heels overhead, as street Arabs do today—until the startled herd at length stumbled into the snaring nets that had been spread for them in the middle of this fantastic circle.

Eastward the weary boy looked down upon a profound and broad valley, through which the Inkomati flows, beyond whose sunlit haze the blue summit of the Ungemani range shoulder the hills around what is now Barberton into a still bluer background.

The land was a desert—a beautiful desert, but the cold mists of the hills were gathering round, and a faint blue smoke gave welcome indication of some outpost Swazi kraal close at hand. The messenger climbed on, and at the hill-top an old woman with feeble steps toiled up the rocky path with an earthen jar of water from the stream he had left singing through the valley far below.

"Greeting, mother," said the tired lad. "I am weary, and beg a little snuff on this long and lonely journey."

"Unfaan, thou art welcome to what I have," said the old soul as, laying down her heavy jar with the help of the boy, she took a little roll of skin from her girdle, and opening it with trembling fingers handed him the tiny pressed pile of snuff it held. "Welcome, my son, art thou; and now help me to lift the water again, and come thou to my kraal to rest." The boy laughed a cheery laugh, and putting out his hand he stayed the half-lifted jar and, grasping the old woman's arm, cried: "Nay, mother, come thou to the King."

Three days passed, the last messenger had arrived with the inevitable tale of refusal and Um Swazi sat in his kraal blinking sadly through his old eyes at the morning sunshine that flooded the great enclosure out beyond the eaves of the indaba hut. A group of old men surrounded the dressed ox hide on which the aged chief reclined. A leopard skin lay across his knees, his hands idly clasped weighted it down, and he did not hear the words of the bonga that had not yet died away at his coming out into the presence of his people. The King was weary, and did not speak. His

people were silent, too, only the young men fidgeted and fingered their spears, incapable of inaction. Suddenly they parted around the entrance to the enclosure, and through their opening ranks a soiled and wayworn youth appeared, leading by the hand an aged and bowed woman. It was the last messenger—and he had not returned alone. Both threw themselves at the King's feet.

"Well?" questioned Um Swazi. "Whence come you, and who is this?"

"O Father of the Swazis!" half gasped the boy, "I come from the hills beyond the Usutu, where the Inkomati flows toward Kamblubana, leaving the country of the Basutos behind it, and there, O thou great, great one, I was very wearied, for I had found none to say aught but 'Guti' whenever I asked for what the King bade me seek, and looking out upon the land where our enemies live, I found this old woman carrying water to her house, and her I asked for a little snuff, even as I had asked all the others, and she gave me at once all the tobacco she had, and asked me to rest in her kraal. And so I have brought her to the King, and we have been three long days upon the road, because the woman was old and could not walk swiftly." And the old woman kept her head bowed in her hands while a murmur went round the crowded kraal, and old Um Swazi, strangely silent, said not a word, but looked upon her bent head and thin shoulders and mean attire with a greater mist gathering in his eyes than that all his chilled years had brought there. And the sunlight fell upon the two figures kneeling before him—the boy and the old woman, both silent before the King.

"Come to me, Manduakila," said the old man, stretching out his arms. "I loved you first before all my people, and thou only of them all hast not refused to give when the poor asked of thee. And Um Swazi cannot close his heart to his wife, nor, when she asks it again of him, reply to her 'Guti.'"

❖❖❖

Sophistication

Becoming unmanageable from some unknown cause, a Ford car turned the corner at Eighth Street and Grand Avenue, ran westward and onto the viaduct for some distance, then swerved suddenly and plunged over into the street below. As the vehicle took the leap its driver jumped or was flung out, but managed to catch on the broken railing. He hung for a horrid moment on the brink of death, and then scrambled back to safety. "Merciful powers!" ejaculated a pedestrian below. "What a narrow escape!" "Shucks!" returned the gent from Jimpson Junction, who was on hand. "That wasn't no escape; it was just a trick of some kind. They can't fool me!"

❖❖❖

Three year-old Joe was being taken to spend Christmas at his grandmother's. While waiting for a belated train he afforded amusement for the other waiting passengers. In the spirit of teasing he refused to tell a questioner where he lived. A little later the same person said: "Joe, where does your daddy live?" To the surprise of everybody he replied: "In the same house I do."

9653

(To E. V. D.)

By Witter Bynner

NINE six five three—
Numbers heard in heaven,
Numbers whispered breathlessly
Mystical as seven,
Numbers lifted like the stars
To acclaim and hail
Another heart behind the bars,
Another god in jail,
Tragic in their symmetry,
Crucified and risen,
Nine six five three,
From Atlanta Prison.

♦♦

Sheila Burlingame's Art

By Mary Powell

Women artists so often have such usual names as Kate, Helen, Anna or Mary, that it is very pleasant to come upon one named Sheila. The name sounds somewhat wild and joyous—and so are the pictures.

There are eleven of them on display in the Art Room of the Public Library, where they may be seen for about two weeks longer. They are little bits of everyday made attractive and interesting. The pictures have no titles, but they don't need any.

A vase of marigolds, little groups of people, mothers and children, women feeding the chickens, sweeping the doorsteps, and bringing home the goats are the subjects she has chosen.

The drawing is not very good. It would not be worth while to point out little defects unapparent to the layman, but there is one funny two-legged goat that might be mentioned. He seems quite unconcerned at being different from his four-legged companion. The spirit of the goat is there, so why should we be unduly exercised over his structure in this day of abstract painting?

The colors are subtle and subdued, or clean and fresh. The medium is either oil or pastel. Pastel is rather a difficult medium and these are handled in an understanding manner.

In each picture there is that rare quality expressed—the joy of painting it for its own sake.

This artist is young. One can see she needs to study and work more, but her feeling for incident, color and quality is intense. Her viewpoint is entertaining and naive. It will be interesting to watch her development.

♦♦♦

Our Municipal Opera

There was only one serious drawback to the success of last summer's municipal opera season. It rained. That was because the performances were given *al fresco*, and there was no shelter within half a mile. This year the weather man promises ideal weather—because there is adequate shelter to take care of the crowds. What's the use raining if nobody is going to get wet?

But that is not the only advantage over last year. The screens which have been built at the sides of the lovely open air stage will serve to improve the acoustics immensely, and there is now a cov-

ered walk from Summit Avenue to McKinley Drive. No other city in America has such a summer theater as ours, and the advance sale of seats gives evidence that at least this one civic advantage is appreciated. There never was a more appealing list of light operas than that which begins with "Firefly" on the 8th of June, and ends with "Babes in Toyland" on the 20th of July. Of course, there will be "Robin Hood," for which that forest stage was designed by nature, and "Mikado," which always has to be given in St. Louis. We have not heard the "Mascot" in a good many years, and the "Gondoliers" will prove another welcome old favorite. As for the "Waltz Dream," its popularity is unquestioned.

There will be a great chorus, chiefly local singers, and some of the best stage settings were designed by St. Louis artists. Manager David E. Russell is congratulating himself in advance on an opera season that will set the pace for successful outdoor opera in America.

♦♦♦

The Scotti Opera Company

The casts for the three operas to be presented in St. Louis next week by the Scotti Grand Opera Company, have been received and indicate an exceptionally well balanced performance for each of the appearances. All three operas—"La Tosca," "L'Oracolo," and "I'Pagliacci"—are to be sung in Italian, and according to the advance information, Carlo Peroni, assistant conductor of the Metropolitan Opera Company, New York, will be the conductor. "La Tosca," with Scotti as *Scarpia* and Florence Easton as *Tosca*, will be given on Monday evening, May 25, and the following night the double bill of "L'Oracolo" and "I'Pagliacci." The first and last named operas are so well known as to need no comment. "L'Oracolo" is a new opera by Franco Leoni, the Italian composer who has written a number of the successful modern operas, some of which are American in their themes. A notable example of this is the new opera "Rip Van Winkle," presented two years ago at the Metropolitan.

The story of "L'Oracolo" is that of Chester Bailey Fernald's play, "The Cat and the Cherub." The scene is laid in the San Francisco Chinatown, and the action centers round the rascally opium den keeper *Chim Fang* (to be sung by Antonio Scotti), who lures the little son of his enemy to death and engages in a number of other murderous plans, only to be outwitted at last and strangled with his own pigtail.

Both performances will take place at the Odeon, and will begin at 8 o'clock sharp. The Scotti troupe contains such singers and actors as Mario Chamlee, Louis d'Angelo, Paolo Ananian, Giordano Paltrinieri, Mario Laurent, Charles Oborn, Mary Kent, Carlo Peroni, Armando Agnini, Charles Gallagher, Orville Harold, Francesco Peralta, Anna Roselle, Morgan Kingston, Mello Picco, and Miss Downie.

♦♦♦

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Prisoner—No, your honor; my lawyer took my last dollar.—*Boston Transcript*.



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Marts and Money

Wall Street folks remain in a state of perplexity and suspense concerning the state of the market. They hesitate to purchase, despite further depreciation which in numerous instances ranges from three to six points. As a consequence, the market is dull, dragging and sagging most of the time. Occasional rallies don't hold, because they immediately evoke enlarged liquidation and selling for short account. There's no end of gossip about growing curtailment of credit. It is promoted by hints that this, that, or the other powerful banker is afraid of real disaster in the absence of extensive deflation in securities as well as commodities and wages.

That financiers are disquieted regarding conditions and prospects cannot be questioned. They inveigh against the rampant evils of extravagance and indiscriminate speculation. Rigorous and country-wide restriction of credit, they declare, must be insisted upon from now on. Synchronously, be it noted, they are willing, and do not find it difficult, to float railroad and industrial loans of impressive proportions. Approximately \$80,000,000 of new investment paper has been put on the market in the last few weeks, with interest rates of 7 to 7½ per cent. The bankers' liberal (?) policy in this respect merits approval. It harmonizes with the avowed purpose of increasing essential production and transportation facilities.

Many corporations are greatly in need of new capital. To some extent, and in order to avoid burdensome interest rates, they draw on their current profits and accumulated surpluses to cover needed extensions, improvements and rising cost of material and labor. Quite a number of them prefer to liquidate large blocks of Liberty, Victory and other high-grade bonds. Much new capital is furnished also by stockholders themselves, who feel attracted by substantial fixed dividend rates or conversion privileges. Corporate finances are sounder today than they have ever been, as a result of the enormous profits gathered during the war period. For this very reason, it is probable that the grand total of new borrowings in the open market during 1920 will fall short of present estimates. There's a report in New York that the Union and Southern Pacific Railroad companies, which formed one integral system during the Harriman régime, have decided to purchase for joint account 4,500 refrigerator cars at a cost of \$20,500,000. Seven per cent equipment notes will be issued in furtherance of the transaction. They are confidently expected to find a ready market.

Taking everything into due consideration, it would appear as though the cry of monetary stringency is too strident and too pervasive. Professional financiers are no more infallible than ordinary laymen. They, too, are sometimes under the sway of imagination rather than reason. They, too, are more or less controlled by the dictates of self-interest. There's an ex-

traordinary plenitude of loanable funds in the United States.

That much is clearly witnessed to by constant expansion in deposits. They are vastly in excess of the aggregate deposits of all other countries. All that existing exigencies call for is close supervision and proper distribution of funds, plus careful consideration of economic fundamentals. Progressive betterment in foreign trade and exchanges, together with concomitant recovery in the credits of European nations, will hasten the process of rectification in our own financial, industrial and commercial affairs. The great war debt notwithstanding, our economic position is a great deal stronger than it was six years ago. England, France, Italy, and two or three other European countries are heavily indebted to us, the sum total being about \$10,000,000,000. Moreover, we have bought back nearly \$9,000,000,000 of our own securities formerly owned on the other side of the Atlantic, and are, besides, in possession of 50 per cent of all the gold in the world.

An aggravating factor, according to financiers, is the decidedly unsatisfactory condition of the transportation service. On account of deficient equipment and a multiplicity of strikes, shipments of many essential commodities, especially of foodstuffs, coal, lumber, ores, steel, and building material in general are delayed or stopped altogether, the consequence being that commercial and industrial activities are interfered with and that loans made against the merchandise cannot be paid as promptly as stipulated in contracts.

Eight, nine, and ten per cent still are the effective rates for call loans in Wall Street. In order to find accommodation, the contents of loan envelopes must be unusually good. Bankers insist on painfully wide margins of safety in loans against stocks of particularly mobile character. They frown on goods of doubtful value, or likely to register wide-open breaks in stressful hours. They are taking the proper precautions, and the results will be beneficial all around.

A prolonged season of quiet and narrow fluctuations should be welcomed by every broadminded observer. It will eliminate the peril of such a state of indigestion as preceded and was partly responsible for the distressing times of 1903-04 and 1907-08. The last weekly statement of the associated banks and trust companies showed an increase of \$23,354,000 in surplus reserves, the total being \$28,752,000. Loans and discounts, strange to say, denoted a gain of \$20,224,000. This item now stands at \$5,156,615,000. The market's position would be much more reassuring if the total was not over \$4,000,000,000. The reduction since the beginning of the downward movement has been singularly small. It plainly suggests insufficient absorption by real investors.

Finance in St. Louis.

There's not much to be said about the local market for securities. National Candy common, Wagner Elec-

tric and Indian Refining still engage most of the attention of traders. Quotations vary but little from those of a week ago. They are rather firm in a few cases, in spite of the depression in the East. Would-be purchasers are procrastinating. They are inclined to await a moderate fall in values before entering their buying orders.

Local Quotations.

	Bid.	Asked.
First National Bank.....	210	
Nat. Bank of Commerce.....	134	135
Northwestern Savings		400
United Railways com.....	1	1 1/2
do 4s	43 1/2	44
Certain-teed com.	48	48 1/2
Indian Refg.	7 1/2	7 3/4
Laclede Steel	120	
Tentor A	41 1/2	41 3/4
Tentor B	36	
Hydraulic P. Brick com.....	5 1/2	
do pfd.	41 1/2	42
American Bakery com.....	43 1/2	44
Marland Refg.	122	126
National Candy com.....		100
do 1st pfd.		106
Wagner Electric		260
St. Louis Union Trust.....	327	335
Cities Service com.....	65	66
do pfd.	36	40
Rocky Mt. com.....		

Answers to Inquiries.

CONSTANT READER, Longmont, Colo.—There was no particular cause for the decline of eight points in the price of American Cotton Oil common, aside from the reaction in the general list. The \$4 annual dividend will probably be maintained even during a period of lean earnings, the company's net profits still showing about 6 per cent earned on common stock. Price has fallen from 67 1/4 to 42 since last autumn. Should it drop to 36, buy another certificate.

S. K., Sedalia, Mo.—(1) Brunswick is a very inferior speculation, the quotation of 6 1/4 notwithstanding. There has been no important rise for a long time. Liquidation has been evident on every advance of four or five points. (2) Baltimore & Ohio refunding 5s are a tempting low-priced proposition, yielding a good rate at 58, the current quotation. They are not a first-class investment, though.

ANONYMOUS, St. Louis.—There's no reason for doubting the high intrinsic value of Deere & Co. preferred. The 7 per cent dividend has been paid since 1911, and the surplus for the year ended October 31, 1919, was \$2,807,000, after preferred dividend. Total surplus was \$15,039,000. Ruling price of 95 looks reasonable even under prevailing conditions, but it would be advisable to await a drop to 90.

Coming Shows

For its second last week of the season the Orpheum offers as its toplineer Lieut. Gitz-Rice, composer of such popular war ditties as "Dear Old Pal of Mine." Assisted by Hal Forde he will sing some of the old favorites and some new compositions. Another excellent number is "The Little Cottage," a musical tabloid, presented by Sinclair, Dixon and Collins. The plot hinges on the desire, the frustrated desire, of each inmate for a little solitude. Other acts are the three Alexander Kids, juvenile entertainers; Bronson and Singleton in a song program "Late Again;" "Jazz Tunes and Steps," by Harry Kranz and Bob LaSalle; Baraban and Grohs in a terpsichorean pantomime "Aztec Indian Love;" a musical skit called "Vice Versa," by Allman and Nally; and Kinograms and Topics of the Day.

"Sweeties," a brilliant Friedlander-Hough farce is the leading feature of the current bill at the Grand Opera House, presented by an exceptionally capable company. Joe Taylor and May Francis, clever comedian and musical comedy favorite respectively, have a comedy offering in which several song numbers are interpolated. The Six American Belfords, Risley acrobats, entertain satisfactorily. Tom Mahoney has an Irish monologue in which he impersonates all the members present at the meeting of the hodcarriers' union. "Poughkeepsie," presented by Herbert Denton and company; Yule and Richards, melody and dancing; Raymond Wilbert, "the unusual fellow;" Stuart and Woods in "Going to the Dogs;" the Aerial Eddys, in a series of spectacular feats; and several pictures complete the bill.

Bill and Bob Millard presenting "Ain't I a Devil?" lead the Columbia bill. They are two clever entertainers whose talents range from cycling to singing. Naio and Rizzo, violinist and accordionist, render solos and duets, using old time numbers and modern syncopations for their program and giving a wonderful imitation of a cello. Paula Armstrong and company present a "Herculean Surprise." There are other good acts on the program and the feature film is Olive Thomas in "The Flapper."

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June 29 Week	-	-	-	-	"Mikado"
July 6 Week	-	-	-	-	"Mascotte"
July 13 Week	-	-	-	-	"Gondoliers"
July 20 Week	-	-	-	-	"Babes in Toyland"

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